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SOCIALISM'S PROGRAM.

Does It Propose, as Is Claimed, to Divide Up?

The question most frequently put to a Socialist by capitaists is: How will Socialists divide the wealth they produce; is each to have an equal share; or how?

"Division," that is the thing that sticks in the very marrow of the philistines, like a veritable leprosy. Their whole conception of Socialism begins and ends with that word. Indeed, even among the most cultured, the idea is quite prevalent that the object of Socialism is to divide the whole wealth of the nation among the people.

"Division" Is the Socialism of Reaction.

That this view still prevails, despite all protests and proofs on the part of the Socialists is to be ascribed, not only to the malice of the enemies of Socialism, but also, and perhaps to a greater extent, to their inability to understand the social conditions that have been brought on by the development of large production. Their horizon is still, to a great extent, bounded by the conceptions that apply only to the system of small production. Indeed, judging from the standpoint of small production, the only form of Socialism possible is division. From the start of production for sale in antiquity it has happened innumerable times, as often as a few families had heaped great wealth and had reduced artisans and farmers to dependence, that these plotted for the expulsion of the rich and the division of their property. They succeeded in this for the first time during the French Revolution, notwithstanding, for perhaps, just by reason of, its emphatic assertion of the rights of private property. Peasants, artisans, and the class that was about to develop into capitalists, divided among themselves the church estates. Division is the Socialism of small production; it is the Socialism of the "conservative" ranks of society; it is not the Socialism of the Proletariat.

It needs time, but the feat will yet be accomplished of ramming into the heads of the so-called luminaries of our social system that Socialists do not propose to divide; that, on the contrary, their object is to concentrate in the hands of society the instruments of production.

But this does not yet dispose of the question of division. If the means of production belong to society, to it must belong, as a matter of course, the function of disposing of the products that are brought forth with the aid of these instruments. In what way will society distribute these among its members? Shall it be upon the principle of equality, or according to the labor performed by each? And in the latter case, is every kind of labor to receive the same reward, whether it be agreeable or not, hard or easy, skilled or unskilled?

To many, the answer to this question seems to be the central point of Socialism. Not only does it greatly pre-occupy the foes of Socialism, but even the early Socialists devoted the greatest amount of attention to it. From Fourier to Weitling, and from Weitling to Bellamy there runs a steady stream of the most diversified answers, many of which reveal a wonderful degree of acumen. There is no lack of positive propositions; many of them are as plain as they are practicable. Nevertheless, the question is not of the importance that is generally ascribed to it.

Material Basis of Distribution.

Time was when the distribution of products was looked upon as wholly independent from production itself; seeing, moreover, that the contradictions and ills of the capitalist system of production manifest themselves first in its peculiar mode of distributing its products, it was quite natural that both the exploited classes and their friends should have located the root of the evil in the "unjust" distribution of products. Of course, these people proceeded, obedient to the views that were prevalent at the beginning of this century, upon the supposition that the existing system of distribution was the result of the ideas of their days, i. e., of the popular understanding of right and wrong. In order to remove this unjust system of distribution, all that was needed was to invent a juster one, and to convince the world of its advantages. The just system of distribution could, of course, be none other than just the reverse of the existing one. Among these people, some reasoned thus: "To-day there reigns the crassest inequality; the principle upon which distribution should be based must be one of equality." Others followed another line of thought; they said: "To-day the idler rolls in wealth while the laborer starves, consequently, let the principle be 'To each according to his deeds.'" Yet a third set raised objections to both principles, and they set up a third formula: "To each according to his needs." The early Socialists spent much time upon this subject. For the same reasons that hey did so, to wit, their imperfect comprehension of the social mechanism not a few ideologists right here in the United States have tangled themselves in the meshes of a pointless discussion upon this comparatively unimportant subject.

Modern Socialism, basing itself upon economic science, takes the stand that the distribution of products in a community is determined, not by the prevailing conception of right and wrong, but by the prevailing system of production. The share of the landlord, the capitalist, and the wage-worker in the total product of society is determined by the role which land, capital and labor-power play to-day in the modern system of production. Soon enough, in the Co-operative Commonwealth, the distribution of products will not be left to the mercy of blind forces which can never be well understood by those concerned. The same as to-day, in the interior of a large industrial establishment, production and the payment of wages are matters that are carefully considered and well regulated, so likewise in a Socialist commonwealth, which is nothing more than a single gigantic industrial concern, the same principle must prevail. The rules according to which the distribution of products is to be carried out will be established by the parties concerned. Nevertheless, it will not depend upon their whim what those rules shall be; these will not be adapted arbitrarily to this or that principle, however sonorous it may sound; they will be determined by the actual condition of society, above all, by the condition of production itself.

For instance, the degree of the productivity of labor at any given time exercises a great influence upon the manner in which distribution is effected. Without any excessive strain on the imagination, we can conceive a time when science will have raised industry to such a high level of productivity that everything wanted by man is produced in great abundance. In such case, the formula "To each according to his needs" would be applied as a matter of course, and without much difficulty. On the other hand, not even the profoundest conviction of the justice of this formula would be able to put it into practice if the productivity of labor remained so low that the proceeds of the most excessive degree of labor could produce only a bare necessity. Again, the formula "To each according to his deeds" will always be found inapplicable. If it has any sense at all, it pre-supposes a distribution of the total product of he commonwealth among its members. This notion, the same as that about a general division and the military form of Socialism, springs from the modes of thought that are peculiar to the modern system of private property. To distribute the products at stated intervals would be equivalent to the gradual reintroduction of private property in the means of production.

Socialist Distribution.

The very essence of Socialist production limits the possible distribution of products to only a portion of these. All those products which are requisite to the enlarement of prodution can not, as a matter of course, be the subject of distribution; and the same holds good with regard to all such products that are intended for common use, *i. e.*, to the establishment, preservation or enlargement of public institutions.

Already in modern society the number and size of such institutions increases steadily; it is upon this domain especially that large production crowds down small production within the circle of household duties. It goes without saying that, so far from being checked, the development will be greatly stimulated in a Socialist commonwealth.

The quantity of products that can be absorbed by private consumption and, accordingly, be turned into private property, must inevitably be a much slighter portion of the total product in a Socialist than in modern society, where almost all products are merchandise and private property. In Socialist, differently from capitalist, society it is not the bulk of the products, but only the residue, that needs distribution.

But even this residue Socialist society will not be able to dispose of at will; there, too, the requirements of production will determine the course to be pursued. Seeing that production is undergoing steady changes, so likewise will the forms and methods of distribution be subject to manifold changes in the Socialist Republic.

It is a Utopian idea to imagine that a special system of distribution is to be manufactured, and that it will stand for all time. On this field, as little as on any other, is Socialist society likely to move by leaps and bounds, or start all over anew; it is bound to go on from the point at which capitalist society ceases. The distribution of goods in a Socialist commonwealth might possibly continue for some time under forms that are essentially improved developments of the existing form of wage payment. At any rate, this is the point from which it is bound to start. Just as the forms of wage-labor differ to-day, not only from time to time, but also in various branches of industry and in various sections of the country, so likewise, may it happen that in a Socialist commonwealth the distribution of products may be carried on under a variety of forms corresponding to the various needs of the population and the historical antecedents of the industry. The conception of the Co-operative Commonwealth as a rigid, cut-and-dried, uniform institution held by hard and fast rules is mistaken. It is, on the contrary, that system that not only opposes least resistance to, but aids immeasurably the course of evolution in all its manifold branches.

Impracticability of Socialism.

Next to the thought of "division," that of "equal shares" troubles the foes of Socialism most. "Socialism," they declare, "proposes that every one shall have an equal share of the total product; the industrious is to have no more than the lazy; hard and disagreeable labor is to receive no higher reward than that that is light and agreeable; the hod-carrier, who has nothing to do but reach out the material, is to be on a par with the architect himself; under such circumstances, every one will work as little as possible; no one will perform the hard and disagreeable tasks; knowledge, having ceased to be appreciated, will cease to be cultivated; and the final result will be the relapse of society into barbarism; consequently, Socialism is impracticable."

The idiocy of this reasoning is too glaring to need exposure. This much may be said: Should Socialist society ever decide to decree the equality of incomes, and should the effect of such a measure actually threaten to be the dire one prophesied, then, and that case, the natural result would be, not that Socialist production, but the principle of equality of incomes, would be thrown overboard.

The foes of Socialism would be justified to conclude from the equality of incomes that Socialism is impracticable if they could prove:

(1) That this equality would be, under all circumstances, irreconcilable with the progress of production. This they never have been and never will be able to prove, seeing that he activity of the individual in production does not depend solely upon his remuneration, but upon a great variety of circumstances—his sense of duty, his ambition, his dignity, his pride, etc., etc.—none of which can be the subject of positive prophecy, but only of conjecture, a conjecture, however, which under improved social conditions, so far from making in favor, can only make against the opinion expressed by the adversaries of Socialism; and

(2) That the equality of incomes is so essential to a Socialist society that the latter cannot be conceived without the former. To prove this the foes of Socialism will find equally impossible. A glance over the various forms of communist production which have still survived the shock of time, from the primitive communism practised by our aboriginal Indians, down to the latest communistic societies that have sprung up in various parts of the land, will reveal how manifold are the forms of distribution that are applicable to a community of property in the instruments of production. All forms of modern wage payment—fixed salaries, time wages, piece wages, bonuses—all of them are reconcilable with the spirit of a Socialist commonwealth; and there is not one of them that may not play quite a role in Socialist society, according as the wants and the customs of its members, together with the requirements of production, may demand.

Capitalist Inequality.

It does not, however, follow from this that the principle of the equality of incomes—a principle that is not necessarily identical with heir uniformity—will cut no figure whatever in Socialist society; whenever that principle shall assert itself, it will not spring up as the aim of a movement for leveling things generally, forcibly and straightway, but as the result of a natural development and social tendency.

In the capitalist system of production there is seen simultaneously both a tendency to increase, and one to diminish, the differenecs between incomes; one tendency would aggravate, the other would reduce, inequalities.

By dissolving the middle classes of society and swelling evermore the size of individual fortunes the capitlist systems broadens and deepens perceptibly the chasm that exists between the masses of the population and those who are at its head; the latter tower ever higher above the former and become less and less approchable to them. Hand in hand with this tendency is noticed another, which, operating within the circle of the masses themselves, steadily equalize their respective incomes; it flings the small producers, farmers and industrialists into the class of the proletariat, or at least pushes their incomes down to the proletarian level, and wipes out existing differences between the proletarians themselves. The machine tends steadily to the removal of all the diffrences which originally took root among the proletariat; to-day, the differences in wages among the various layers of labor fluctuate incessantly, and come nearer and nearer to a point of uniformity; at the same time the incomes of the educated proletariat are irresistably tending downwards. The equalization of incomes among the masses, that thing at which the adversaries of Socialism affect to be shocked, and which they brand with moral indignation as the malignant purpose of Socialism—is going on under their own eyes, and is the result of their own precious system.

Socialism Levels Upwards.

As a matter of course, all those tendencies that sharpen inequalities, and that proceed from the private ownership in the means of production, would come to an end, while the tendency to wipe out inequalities of incomes would find stronger expression under the Socialist system. But here again the observations made upon the dissolution of existing family forms and upon the downfall of small production hold good with equal force: the tendency of the economic development remains in Socialist, to a certain extent the same as in capitalist society, but it finds expression in a very different way. To-day, the equalization of incomes among the masses of the population proceeds by the depression of the higher incomes to the level of the lower ones; in a Socialist commonwealth it must inevitably proceed by the raising of the lower to the standard of the higher.

The adversaries of Socialism seek to frighten the small producers with the claim that an equalization of incomes can mean for them nothing else than the lowering of their conditions, because, say they, the incomes of the wealthy classes are not large enough, if divided among the poor, to preserve the present average income of the middle classes; that, consequently, if there is to be equality of incomes, the middle classes will have to give up part of their incomes, and would by so much be the losers under Socialism.

Whatever truth there may be in this claim lies in that the most miserable, above all the slums, are to-day so numerous and their indigence so great that the distribution among them of the immense incomes of the rich might not suffice to bring their condition quite up to the standard of the middle class. Whether this argument could be advanced as a special reason for the preservation of our glorious social system may well be doubted; some may be of the opinion that any improvement that might be accomplished through such division would be a positive gain.

There is, however, no question about "division:" the only question is upon the change of the method of production. The transformation of the capitalist into the Socialist system of production must inevitably result in a rapid increase of the quantity of wealth produced yearly. It must never be lost sight of that the capitalist system of production for sale hinders to-day the economic development, hinders he full expansion of the productive forces that lie latent in society. Not only is it not able to absorb the small industries in the measure in which the technical development makes possible and requires; it has become even impossible to it to employ all the forces that are available. The capitalist system of production squanders these forces in that it steadily drives an increasing quantity thereof into the ranks of the unemployed, he slums, the parasites and the unproductive middle men.

Such a state of things is simply impossible in a Socialist commonwealth; it could not fail to find productive labor for all its available labor forces; it would increase perceptibly, nay, it would double the number of productive workers; in the measure in which it did this it would multiply the total wealth produced yearly. This increase in production would be enough in itself to raise the incomes of all workers, and not only those of the poorest ones.

Furthermore, Socialist production would greatly promote the absorption of small and its substitution by large production, and thereby also increase greatly the produtivity of labor; it would then be possible not only to raise the incomes of the workers, but also to lower the hours of work.

Equality of Poverty.

In view of this the claim is puerile that Socialism means the equality of pauperism. That is not the equality towards which Socialism tends; it is the equality into which the modern system of production drive mankind. Socialist production must inevitably improve the conditions of all classes—those of the small producer and small farmer included. According to the economic conditions, under which the change from capitalism to Socialism may be effected, will the improved general well-being of the community be greater or less; but whatever those conditions may be, the progress will be marked; and from that point on every further economic development will, instead of lowering as it does to-day, raise the general well-being of the commonwealth.

This turn in the direction of the course generally taken by incomes is, in the eyes of Socialists, of much more importance to the well-being of society than the absolute increase of incomes. The thoughtful man lives more in the future than in the present; what the future threatens or promises to him preoccupies him more than the enjoyment of the present. Not what is, but what will be; not existing conditions, but tendencies, determine the happiness or the unhappiness both of individuals and whole states.

The Modern Spectre.

Thus we become acquainted with another element of superiority in Socialist over capitalist society. It affords not only an improved condition of well-being but also the certainty of livelihood—a certainty not afforded to-day by the largest fortune. If the improvement of well-being can be appreciated, mainly, if not only, by the classes that hitherto have been exploited, the certainty of a livelihood is a boon to the exploiters themselves, to those whom well-being needs no improvement even where such might be possible. Uncertainty hovers over both the rich and the poor, and possibly it is more trying than want itself; it causes even those to taste the bitterness of want who are not yet subject to it; it is a specter that haunts the most luxurious home.

All observers who have become acquainted with communistic societies, whether these were situated in India, France or America, have all been struck with the appearance of calmness, confidence, and equanimity peculiar to their members Independent of the oscillations of the market, and in possession of their wn instruments of production, they are self-sufficient; they regulate their labor according to their needs, and they know in advance just what they have to expect. And yet the security against want enjoyed by these primitive or more recent colonies is far from being perfect; their control over nature is slight, the communities themselves are small. Mishaps brought on by cattle diseases, failures of crops, freshets, etc., are not infrequent, and when they occur, smite the whole body. Upon how much firmer a basis does not the Co-operative Commonwealth stand with boundaries co-extensive with those of the nation and with all the conquests of science at its command.

On to the Socialist Republic!

STRIKING AND LOCKED-OUT CIGARMAKERS!

The Pioneer Cigarmakers' Alliance, S. T. & L. A., Invites You to a Mass Meeting at Cooper Union

ON SATURDAY, 5TH INSTANT, AT 8 P. M.

Fellow Wage-Earners in the Cigarmaking Trade:—All of you, striking and locked-out cigarmakers, who feel the smart of the abject conditions into which you are thrust; all of you who are intelligent enough to perceive that your troubles are the net result of the economic and political tyranny of the capitalist class, coupled with the false principles of your organization and the criminal-corrupt leadership of the International Union; all of you who are brave enough to take the only stand that can possibly lead to relief and ultimate freedom from the galling double yoke of the Capitalist Exploiter and the vampire Labor Fakir;—all such are cordially invited to attend the above meeting; to learn the principles of organization, the aims and methods of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, the only bonafide, class-conscious economic organization of the wage-earner; and to marshal yourselves under its banner to fight your battles.

Cigarmakers! Long enough have you been the football of Capitalists and Labor Fakirs. The two have played into each others' hands, and brought you down to where you now are. The time has come to turn over a new leaf. Let us turn it now and for all time.

Come one, come all!

PIONEER CIGARMAKERS' ALLIANCE, L. A. 141 OF THE S. T. & L. A.

"LABOR"—REWARED."

Fool's Cap That the Workingman Is Decorated With.

BALTIMORE, Md., May 1.—A year has passed—a sad, sad year for the labor skates, erstwhile fakirs, yclept capitalist, stump-speaking, professional workingmen. The fakir of a year ago is the skate of to-day—damning the "cause" he fought for—a truly "lost cause." Ah! the baseness of it! List to the harrowing tale: Last May Day a Municipal campaign was in progress in this city. At that time the reports of the meetings of the so-called Workingmen's Association were chronicled in THE PEOPLE.

It will be recalled that the "Association"—it should have been named "Confraternity of Workers" (probably too suggestive), for there is much in a nice-sounding name, and that is al the fakirs had, aside from their foul reputations—consisted of six persons and a long list of names, or a list of long names; that it was officered by representatives of unions who were delegates to the Federation of Labor; that its expenses were over $500, and the "initiation fees and dues"—a constitutional requirement with the fakir always—were 10 cents; that "the fiery young president led the hosts of labor in the valiant struggle of the masses against the classes," and the m-asses won. But the fiery young president and the valiant six! What of them? Ah! melancholy memory, sad the tale! The sequel must be told.

Buncoed Again.

Six months after the election "the champion of labor's hosts" took office. His first official act was a royal proclamation reducing the low salaries lower, and making the high salaries higher, "owing to the responsibility of the positions." Thus the salaries of the firemen at the City Hall were reduced from $900 per annum to $700, and the salary of the Mayor increased from $5,000 per annum to $6,000. Other workers were reduced proportionately down to the scrub-women, and the "administrative positions" proportionally increased. The Mayor saw no reason "why the city should pay more to its working-class servants than private corporations paid, or more than the current market rates for labor." The tax rate must be reduced, you know, and "as labor pays all the taxes (so declared by the local Federation of Labor some weeks previously), this is a distinct advance in the interests of labor generally. A low tax rate is a blessing to the workingman." Oh! spook of the *Volkszeitung* heresy, come back to smite us below the belt! The Mayor was foxy. He played with his game before he killed it. He set the fakirs trekking through the alleys and the suburban veldt. When questioned, they smiled in a dazed way, as though expecting to be ambushed, for they aimed high, did these "leaders of the hosts," and their tongues must not be unloosed lest their words be their own undoing. The Mayor would not make his appointments until the question of salaries was settled, and, besiles, the salaries for the offices they sought were in most instances increased, being positions "difficult to fill," and not quoted in the labor market. They asked that judgment be withheld until—oh! they would be appointed all right, all right; it wasn't that, no, not at all; if they thought, etc., etc. So the labor fakir was silent; he the loud-mouthed, he the champion, he the leader of the "valiant hosts," said not a word; nor did his organization, the F. of L., rise to the dignity of an outcast canine to protest against the action of the Mayor. It withheld judgment; the time was, not opportune to speak; the Mayor would recognize the "voice of labor" in due season, etc.

But a year has passed; a year of weary waiting, a year of hope, of faith, of charity—to the Mayor. The evolution of the trusted fakir to the discredited skate has been accomplished. The Mayor tricked the men who tricked the people, for the offices have been distributed, and the "difficult places" they fill is a corner in some saloon, where in a crowd of congenial spirits, they gnash their teeth and curse the Mayor.

Shades of Tax-Paying "Socialists"!

But the "voice of labor" has emitted a piping note in the tax department. One of "the valiant hosts" has been made a bailiff! Oh, shades of Julius Grunzig, was ever travesty more apropos? Labor pays all the taxes, and those that labor cannot pay are collected by a process server, through the medium of eviction or foreclosure by one of "labor's chosen few."

But why should the fakirs mourn? Why should they now curse the man they praised? He is still the same, ever and always. He it was who framed and drew up the city charter, which shuts the working class out of the City Council: he it was who inserted the clause providing that contracts shall be let to the lowest bidder; he it was who, as a State Senator, was ever the champion of corporation steals; he it was who, shrewd lawyer that he is, introduced the unconstitutional child-labor law, which prohibits the employment in factories of children under twelve years of age. Was not the Mayor the champion of good government? And what, pray, is good government, if it is not with a low tax rate, since labor pays all the taxes? Did not these men, "shoulder to shoulder" with the Mayor, clamor for good government, "with recognition of labor" (fakirs)? They have good government, a low tax rate, and labor has been fitly recognized. Therefore, we can see no cause for them to swear, for their campaign hopes have been fully and unexpectedly realized. But they look seedy, have a shiftless walk, glance furtively about them, wear their trousers as though their suspenders were broken; probably these circumstances may have an affinity with the curses and calumnies! Base, ignoble thought, how dare I! But its a fact that one who aspired to be the Street Cleaning Commissioner accepted a "position" managing a broom. So labor has received her reward in the city. But how fares labor at the hands of the State?

Gold Bricks.

The Legislature of Maryland has met and adjourned. It passed one measure of momentous consequence to the oil-lamp-burning working class. It reduced the price of illuminating gas fifteen cents per 1,000 cubic feet! The fact is, it established a maximum charge for gas in Baltimore city of $1.10, giving the gas company a very valuable monopoly in return for the favor. Now, workers of the gas company—you smutly-faced fellows who burn tallow candles in your "workingman's palace is his cozy little home"—pull your belts tighter around your girth, for the gas company has to squeeze an equivalent of that fifteen cents a thousand feet out of your brain and brawn. However, record another victory of the people over a "soulless corporation," a "great, grinding monopoly has been conquered" by—um—ah!—why, by creating a greater monopoly!

Where were labor's champions when this dollar-gas scheme was hoodwinking the foolish people? Where was the sturdy-Dick, Senator from the mining regions, himself a professional miner, the legislative right hand of the banker ex-Governor, the assistant statistician in the Bureau of Industrial Statistics, the great promulgator of "unprecedented prosperity"? Where was he, you ask? Demanding justice for the people who use gas, lobbying for a senseless bill to prohibit discharges of men owing to membership in labor unions, a law which has been declared unconstitutional in half a dozen states, and one which has been a standard article in the labor fakir's choice collection of gold bricks. But this Senatorial pooh-bah's left hand forgets what the right hand does, when he cries prosperity one day as compiler of capitalist statistics, and the next as the horny-handed miner-Senator weepingly wails that men are unable to secure or hold employment because they belong to the Union. Dick evidently doesn't understand that there can be no prosperity where willing workers cannot secure a master, Union or no Union; and the mere existence of a blacklist is evidence that Dick's prosperity with the working class is synonymous with panic and poverty. The miners of Maryland have worn their iron collar long enough. Will they tear it from their throats, or will they change it for a steel one by chasing the chimera of an unconstitutional anti-blacklist law? They seem to believe—and have been so taught by their fakir leaders—that if there were no blacklist there would be plenty for them in the land. Poor boys, they do not realize that a blacklist, law or no law, is maintained through and by the reserve industrial army, and that if there were no reserves there would be no blacklist; they do not realize that the power to enact anti-blacklist laws can be used to abolish the reserve industrial army, and their masters along with it, taking to themselves the complete management of their own labor-power. They do not realize these things now, but the gray dawn of the workers' sunny day is breaking over the hilltops of Maryland's mining regions, and is penetrating into the dark valleys of that shade of misery—the miner's hovel. The misspent energies of the past, he futile strikes, the oppression of the masters—all have served to clarify the miner's be-clouded brain. He is rousing from his lethargy. The rattle of his chains again portends an awakening. Soon he will strike the terrible blow that rends them. Ere another May day rolls around, perhaps, a different story we will tell.

X.

MAY DAY PARADE.

This Was Not Tammany Stuffings.

The May Day Parade and Mass Meeting of Section New York, Socialist-Labor Party, and D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., took place on the 1st instance. Both by itself and by contrast, the affair was a striking demonstration of what May Day has really come to stand for, to wit, a clean-cut, uncompromising declaration of the oncoming Social Revolution,—uncompromising in aims, uncompromising in tactics.

It was 8.30 p. m. when the division of D. A. 49 swung in line, and the Grand Marshal, Gillhouse, gave the signal to start. The long column—gay with banners, transparencies, and bands of music—wound its way from Eleventh street and First avenue, eastward to Avenue C, down to Third street, and then westward across town to Eighth avenue whence it proceeded northward to Seventeenth street, and thence eastward to Union Square, where the mass meeting was held. On Eighth avenue and Tenth street the division of Hudson County, N. J., joined the line, headed by transparencies and music.

Significant were the remarks that dropped from the dense masses that lined the line of march. The cheers came from friends. But many more were the onlookers who had not yet been drawn into the movement, and who evidently watched it. From these such remarks as the following were frequent:

"THESE are the boys!"
"THESE are Socialists!"
"THIS set means business!"

And right they were. They could detect not one man with a record for boodling; not one man with a record as a fakir in politics or labor; while numerous were the men seen in line whose unswerving devotion to the cause of the Proletariat had endeared them to friends not only, but to honorable foes as well.

It was 10.25 when Patrick Murphy, the Chairman of the Mass meeting, approached the front of the cottage and called upon the large crowd for three cheers for International Socialism, and for its American Division—the S. L. P. When the tumult had subsided, the speakers were introduced: Comrades Brown, Pierce, De Leon, Dinger of Cleveland, Hunter, Campbell, who delivered addresses. It was long after 11 when the meeting was declared adjourned, with three more cheers for the S. L. P., which resounded with a vim born of conscious ascendency.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)	2,068
In 1890	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential)	21,157
In 1894	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential)	36,564
In 1898	82,204
In 1899	**85,231**

Who can explain why one species ranges widely and is very numerous, and why another allied species has a narrow range and is rare? Yet these relations are of the highest importance, for they determine the present welfare and, I as believe, the future success and modification of every inhabitant of this world.—DARWIN.

THE APPROACHING CRISIS.

TO THE PEOPLE.—I am well aware that the Labor Fakirs and the organization that allows itself to be run by them are all alike. THE PEOPLE has furnished ample facts to prove that. I know that as far as that is concerned there is no difference between the gang that misleads the miners, or the gang that misleads the cigarmakers, or the gang that misleads the compositors. Nevertheless, I do maintain that, for brazen rascality, shameless impudence, and unperturbed wrongheadedness towards the working class, the Labor Fakir brigade that runs the International Typographical Union, especially the gang that runs No. 6, in this city, together with the gang of understrappers that upholds them, is the scaliest of the lot, and cannot be wiped out too soon.

Just now No. 6 is in a fight with the *Sun*, and doing all it can to arouse the sympathy of the workers in all other trades to help it. One would think that, at such a time at least, the No. 6 Fakirs and their understrappers would be particular to conceal their cloven hoofs. Are they? Just listen. The story I have to tell is not yet five days old.

No 6, being very anxious to make a "show" at the so-called May Day parade of the C. F. U. last Saturday night, issued subscription lists for money for the band that was to head the No. 6 division. One of these lists was sent to the Publishers' Printing Company, on Lafayette place. The foreman took charge of it and passed it around. All the comps., pressmen and feeders put down their names, most of them without looking, as will appear. One man, however, of the Franklin Ass'n, refused. He claimed that "Big 6" had its printing for their big fair, to be held next month, done at the Metropolitan Print, where the Franklin men, a constituent body of the "Allied Printing Trades," mind you, were on strike. He declared that no honorable workingman could either parade with or contribute to the band of No. 6 under such circumstances. The rest of the pressmen and feeders, who had signed, now got on their ears, sharing the view of the Franklin man. The forman was indignant. He denied point blank the charge of the Franklin man that "Big 6's" printing for the fair was done at the Metropolitan, and demanded proofs. The Franklin man offered to produce proofs within five minutes if he was given that time. The foreman consented, and within the given time the Franklin man returned to the shop with samples of the printing that proved his charge, and he spread them before his shop-mates. The foreman was nailed, and all the pressmen and feeders scratched their names off the list. Significant enough, only the comps. remained on: they either approved of such an act of treason, or stood in fear of the traitors. The affair leaked out, and I am glad it had its desired effect. No. 6's division at the parade was insignificant.

Can such labor-injuring conduct as that of No. 6 be beat? P. F.

Brooklyn, April 30.

Every intelligent observer surely realizes that the Labor Movement in this country is approaching a crisis. The crisis lies in the irrepressible struggle between the class-conscious wage-earners and the Fakir brigade; between *bona fide* unionism and bogus unionism. The latter, being essentially a part of the mechanism of Capitalism, was bound to become, in the course of time, an outpost of Capitalism. Outposts are the first to open fire, because it is them that the approaching army first runs up against. In the very nature of the thing, this conflict partakes of all the confusing features of fratricidal or civil war. But the conflict brings on clarifiation, and recruits to the advancing army are raised out of the ranks of such outposts themselves. In fact the very organization of such army effects a disintegration of the outposts; and the nearer it draws to them, the more extensive the disintegration, and the nearer the crisis.

The letter that heads this article is but one of many symptoms of the disintegration that is going on in that outpost of Capitalism, the Fakir-run or old-style system of unionism; the disintegration is brought on by the advance of the Socialist-Labor Party and Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. The disintegration is going on so fast that the crisis may be considered at hand.

Not much longer can the hypocrisy of the Labor Fakirs deceive. Their appeals to solidarity and their declamations in favor of Labor go to pieces against their villainous practices. Found out more and more every day, they will find themselves between two fires and the fire will grow so deadly as to wipe out the outpost, when the two firing forces will unite, and uniting, march upon the citadel of Capitalism itself.

HE SEES A GLIMMER.

A meeting of anti-Catholic divines was held on the 29th instant in Masonic Temple. The gentlemen had come to celebrate the "inroads made into the Romish Church." The celebrants might have deceived everybody were it not that they are mostly well-known pulpit lackeys of the capitalist class. One of them, however, a rather innocent one, said a thing that indicates that he sees a glimmer, that something or another has settled down on his mind and is taking root, and that the process tends to shaken his confidence in the sturdy purposes of his fellow Protest crusaders. Said he:

"Protestants need a little backbone." What the gentleman meant was that his fellow Protestant crusaders don't walk a steady road with firm step; that he has seen them wobbling, and often cave in quite completely. He ascribes that to lack of backbone. If he were better informed, if he had eyes to discern the trees in the woods, he would realize that it is not backbone that was lacking in the cases he may have in mind, but common honesty. Yes, common honesty.

It is not so long ago when a Roman Catholic priest in this city took a political attitude which, absurd though it was, and absolutely incapable of at all promoting the interests of the working class, sent such spasms of fear through the frame of the capitalist class, that he was promptly "disciplined" by the Roman curia. A long conflict ensued between him and his ecclesiastical superiors, extending all the way to the Roman See. His attitude, put in a nutshell, was the motto of DANIEL O'CONNELL of old, to wit: "All the religion you want from Rome, but no politics;" he claimed absolute freedom to exercise his sovereign citizen rights of political independence. As against this, his ecclesiastical superiors struck an attitude, which, in turn put into a nutshell, was a maxim uttered at that very time by Mgr. PRESTON, the *alter ego* of Archbishop CORRIGAN in this city, and which ran thus tersely:

"He who says, 'I'll take my religion from Rome, but not my politics,' is a fool." The issue was thus made very clear. And what was the attitude of the Protestant divines? What was the attitude of the A. P. A. laymen? With one accord they sided with the ecclesiastics who took their stand against political freedom.

The movement of the "anti-Catholic" Protestants is but one of the thousand and one manifestations of capitalist political and economic chicanery. It is but one of the many attempts to divide the working class; it is but one of the many attempts to conceal the fact that the Protestant capitalist will feast as readily as the Catholic or Jew capitalist on the flesh and marrow of the working class, and will enjoy the plunder levied on the Protestant workingmen not a bit less than the plunder levied on the Catholic or Jew workingmen.

Well may a green divine, who is not up in political economy and social science, wonder at the wobblings of his associates in their various "crusade against evil."

ARTHUR TO THE RESCUE.

Will there be a Central-Hudson strike? Was there ever any danger of one? No! Last Monday's reports printed in all the capitalist papers contained just one sentence that, to the knowing, settled the question. The sentene was this:

"No strike will be successful unless it can block the whole system, and no strike will block the whole system unless it embraces the engineers, and the officers having direct control over them decline to go into a purely sympathetic strike."

This was the settler.

Among the leading Labor Deceivers called "Labor Leaders" in this country, Mr. ARTHUR, the Grand Master of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, holds a place of pre-eminence. His fellow Englismen, the GOMPERSES, JARROLDS, RATCHFORDS, etc., etc., however well-off they may now be, are but cockroaches alongside of this leader of the English style of Unionism. They may have a few thousand dollars layed up; they may have gold chains, thck as anchor chains; they may have high hats, broadcloth, and even a few dirty tenement houses; but all that is as naught to the Pure and Simple Grand Master ARTHUR. He is a stockholder in railroads, newspapers and other enterprises of great pith and moment, and is owner of a palatial residene. This he did not gather from his savings as a workingman, nor yet from his savings as a 'Union" offier. This wealth he gathered from his faithful services in keeping the blinkers on the engineers, and leaving them at the ragged edge that they now are at, ignorant of the Labor Question, and near-at-hand victims of the improved or electric engine.

Every strike of railroaders could have been won but for Judas ARTHUR. Had he been an honest and true man; had he been a man possessed of average rectitude, the opportunities that this great office offered him could not have failed to make clear to him that a firm, class-conscious, revolutionary attitude struck by the engineers would have brought the railroad capitalists down on their knees before these men. But he was a "Pure and Simple" Labor Leader. All is told in that one expression. As such, he feathered his own nest with the sweat of the brow of the workers who placed confidence in him, and reached the position of affluence he now enjoys.

Were it not for Judas ARTHUR, not only would the engineers themselves be to-day occupying an infinitely better position than to-day, but, thanks to the highly stragetic position that the nature of their trade placed in their hands, they could have reached the hand to their less favorably situated fellow wage-slaves; and thus the whole Labor Movement of he country would be to-day on the highway to emancipation, instead of being away behind, struggling out of the perplexing woods that ignorant, stupid and corrupt British, or "Pure and Simple," Trade Unionism has thrust it into.

Thus the news that the "officers in direct control over the engineers decline to go into a purely sympathetic strike" has so well-known a ring, that the failure, absolute and complete, of the strike was an assured thing from the start,

Such is the condition of things under "capitalist Unionism."

Smash it!

From the seat of war?—Nothing new.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The hare's trick of doubling and sending the hunter off on a false scent is the trick of the capitalist press, especially of the "reform" and "labor loving" members of the Fraternity of Plunder. Here, for instance, is the New York *Journal* at the trick of trying to send the working class voters off the scent on which they are visibly camping.

In an article in which it justly points out the fraud of the Congressional plan to appoint "a joint committee to investigate the recent acts of the American Steel and Wire Trust," it closes with the following declaration:

In the meantime there is a law on the United States statute books that absolutely prohibits the existence of the American Steel and Wire Trust for a single day.

There is not, nor can there be, any anti-Trust law on the statute books of the land. Given the capitalist system of production, the trust is as natural, as inevitable, as unconquerable as mosquitos are, given Dismal Swamp. To abolish the mosquitos in the Dismal Swamp, the swamp itself must be abolished. Laughable, indeed, were any attempt to abolish the mosquitos there by killing them off one by one, or even thousands by thousands, while leaving the swamp itself untouched: the swamp would continue to breed them, naturally, inevitably, faster than they could possibly be killed off. Just so with the Trust.

How ideal are not, then, capitalist tactics that, intent upon keeping up the capitalist system, and, consequently, its breed of Trust vampires, imply, aye, declare, that capitalist laws an kill off the vampire! The workingmen could then be kept eternally at the work of "killing the Trust." The law that is passed to do that will fail; when it does, a shout will be raised to amend and improve it; or the capitalist officials who "have it in their power to break the neck of the Trust," having failed to do so, will be discharged as faithless, and another set elected to try the same impossible task, and be in turn turned out. And so for ever on. And thus the Hearsts, together with the whole brood of plunderers, will continue in safety, the workingman hunter being put and switched on to a false scent.

Every word that the *Journal* justly utters against the "investigators of Trusts" holds good against the capitalist Trust smashers. They are a pack of unmitigated frauds.

Poor, poor, Social Democratic party! The unkindest cut it ever received is given to it by the *Appeal to Reason*, better known as *Appeal to Nonsense*. It says:

There is no Socialist party in this country aside of the Social Democratic party. Any other claim is that in the interest of the capitalists, to divide the workers.

The sage, who taught his wisdonm by lyric fables, tells the story of a dancing bear, who, on a certain occasion, exhibited his saltatory skill before an elephant, the proverbial wise animal, and a donkey, the proverbial stupid one. When the bear was through, he turned to his audience and asked, What think you of my skill and grace as a dancer?

The elephant spoke up first. Shaking his head, he said: "Many dancers have I seen before this, but of all, you are the clumsiest that ever I beheld."

Before the bear had time to remonstrate against so adverse a criticism, the donkey jumped up, and, clapping his hoofs, exclaimed: "Bravo! bravissimo! A better dancer never was and never will be!"

The bear had been just on the point of trying again, so as to induce the elephant to reconsider his verdict, but when he heard the donkey's prise, he desisted, and, in subdued voice, reasoned thus: "So long as the elephant condemned my dancing, I might have mistrusted his judgment; but now that the donkey praises me, I must be a very poor dancer, indeed. The wise may be in error when they condemn, but unerring is the condemnation that comes from a fool's praise."

That the *Appeal to Nonsense*, the ignoramus that knows not enough of Socialism to distinguish between the "middle man" and the "middle class," or between "Socialist money" and "capitalist money:" that the crook that will start "co-operative papers" and then seeks to sweat the "co-operators" of their share:—that such a concern should clap its hoof and praise cialist party of America, is cruel. It is cruel to all concerned. It is cruel to the praisee because no back is strong enough to resist being broken by such praise: It is also cruel to the Socialist Labor Party because, by thus killing off the Impostor before election, such praise robs the S. L. P. of the otherwise assured pleasure of dangling from its belt the Impostor's scalp next November.

"CHARITY."

FITCHBURG, MASS., April 29.—The question is often asked, Is it to the interest of the capitalists to spend money for charity? What inspires a Helen Gould to spend thousands of dollars supporting soldiers and sailors? What motive has Andrew Carnegie when he purchases church organs and builds libraries? Why will the meanest and cruellist of capitalists support orphan asylums and other institutions?

We all know that the capitalist class is a miserly class. Sooner than pay us a living wage, they will force us on strike, force us and our little ones to face starvation. You can hardly imagine these same capitalists contributing to charity because of the goodness of their hearts. Think of a Carnegie, who would sooner see the men who produce his wealth shot down than give them a living wage, contributing money to charity because he loves us and cannot bear to see us suffer!

Think of the capitalist Jews, who murder wage-slaves in sweat shops, contributing money to orphan asylums because they love Jewish little children. Then why do these capitalists contribute to charity? Answer: "It pays, and pays well." For a good illustration we will take the following case:

Fattening Children to Devour Them.

A very small number of Jewish children, who had the misfortune to lose one or both of their parents, are cared for for a period of years in a certain asylum. In the first place, the children are taught to almost worship the capitalists who are the managers of that institution. These over-fed Jew capitalists come out once in awhile to inspect the little children that they are fattening so that they can fleece them later. When the boy or girl is thirteen or fourteen years old, he or she is hired out to some Jew capitalist to assist in the production of wealth.

Callings are not found to suit the nature of these children, but the first greedy capitalist that needs a boy or girl-slave has the right to fleece these orphan children.

The child, being innocent of what the world is, and having had its little heart filled with false hopes, having no father or mother to guide it, naturally has a very hard time of it. Very few come out on top; the vast majority go down in this heartless, endless struggle for a livelihood.

"Charity" Recoupling Itself.

The capitalist pays this orphan MUCH LESS than he pays another employee, for he thinks he has a mortgage on the child, because he gave money for its support when it could not produce any wealth.

Another queer feature of this capitalist class is this: Talking of the children who have been raised by their charity(?), they always pick out the ones who have succeeded along business lines. Those who lost their manhood and humbled themselves to the capitalists, young men who are small fleecers, or who have the hopes of being labor-fleecers, are displayed at all functions of the institution, with the cry, "Look what this man has done! He was raised in the Home!" They willingly forget the young man who could no longer struggle on in this hard struggle for a livelihood and killed himself; or the number of young men who found it more profitable to be criminals than wage-slaves; or the many young men who are doomed to that slave working class, who work, work, work, day in and day out, without any hopes for the future. Those good-hearted managers never mention those heart-broken girls who are sold into that darkest of dark slaveries known as prostitution.

Taking It Out of the Mother.

While the child is in the institution being cared for by this "good-hearted" capitalist, what goes on? I know a fatherless young man who, while a boy, was put into that institution. While there, his mother was all along working in a sweat-shop for one of the managers for $3.50 a week!

Our capitalist class does not give money to charity because they love the poor. What they do love is to grind wealth out of the poor workingmen and women. The capitalist class murders the father in the mill, mine and factory, and then raises the children until they are old enough to help fill up its coffers.

Let us hasten the day when it will not be possible for a robbing capitalist to live in idleness and have the best of everything, but build up a system where the workers, the producers of all wealth, will enjoy the full products of their toil.

The only hope for the workers is in the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party.

A WANDERING JEW.

Take notice that, after May 1, THE PEOPLE'S address will be 2-6 New Reade street,—THE DAILY PEOPLE'S Building.

Grand Central Palace Roof Garden.

A meeting of the joint Entertainment Committees of Section New York, S. L. P., and D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., was held on Friday, April 27, 8 p. m., at 177 First avenue, New York, for the purpose of making the necessary arrangements for the Entertainment and Reception to the delegates to the National Convention of the S. L. P., on Sunday afternoon and evening, June 3, at Grand Central Palace Roof Garden. Tickets will be 25 cents each. No hat checks.

A committee was selected to secure talent for the Vaudeville Programme. Entertainment will begin 4 P. M. sharp. Ball to follow entertainment at 8 P. M. It was decided to print 5,000 tickets.

Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I have frequently heard you use the term "exchange value." Now, I wish you would remember that I am no college professor, but a plain workingman. What does that term mean in English?

UNCLE SAM—And before going further, I wish you to remember that one need not be a "college professor" to buckle down to the common-sense proposition that, if he wants to talk intelligently on a scientific question, he must use and understand technical terms.

B. J.—But can't you use some other and plainer word?

U. S.—Could you not use some other word than "shuttle" or "woof," when you speak of spinning?

B. J.—Yes, I could, but it would be clumsy to do so, and then one might be misunderstood. If you say "shuttle" or "woof" you are understood without the peradventure of a mistake.

U. S.—And that is just why, when talking economics, every sensible man, from he most poetic, like Lassalle, down to the plainest, must use the term "exchange values" instead of some roundabout phrase.

B. J.—Well, let it be so. What does the thing mean?

U. S.—If you take thirty yards of your cloth to market and wished to have wheat, you would be willing to exchange the cloth for wheat, would you not?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Would you be willing to give all the thirty yards for one bushel of wheat?

B. J.—Are you crazy?

U. S.—Not yet. Would you?

B. J.—Not much, I would.

U. S.—Why not?

B. J.—Because my thirty yards of cloth are worth $21, while a bushel of wheat is worth only1 70 cents.

U. S.—Now, then, the "exchange value" of one yard of your cloth is one bushel of wheat; and the exchange value of one bushel of wheat is one yard of your cloth. "Exchange value" means that quantity of value that goods have, and for which they may be exchanged.

B. J. (*looking very surprised*)—Now, that beats all I ever saw! The thing is simple. I imagined it was some very profound thing, that "exchange value." I see, however, that there is nothing particular about it. I wonder why you and all Socialists talk so much about it.

U. S.—Because thereby hangs all the prophets and the law, so to speak.

B. J.—I can't imagine that.

U. S.—I'll show you. Why are you willing to exchange one yard of your cloth for one bushel of wheat, and thirty yards of your cloth for thirty bushels?

B. J.—Because they are worth the same thing.

U. S.—And why are they worth the same thing?

B. J—Because—why—yes—because—why, don't you know?

U. S.—I do; but do you?

B. J.—Well—yes—because—why, of course——

U. S.—Don't flounder. Just because the quantity of labor present society needs to produce a bushel of wheat is the same as the quantity of labor present society needs to produce a yard of your cloth.

B. J.—Very well. What of it?

U. S.—A good deal. This is the pivot upon which the whole social question revolves.

B. J. (*surprised*)—You don't mean to say so!

U. S.—I do. Suppose some one starts a large farm and applies improved machinery, and is able to turn out two bushels of wheat in the time and with the labor that the farmer now turns out one bushel, would you be willing to continue to exchange one yard of your cloth for one bushel of wheat?

B. J. (*with indignation*)—Indeed, I would not!

U. S.—You would want——

B. J.—Every bit of two bushels.

U. S.—Do you realise why?

B. J.—Well ,I guess on the priniple you just mentioned—the amount of labor society requires to produce one yard of my cloth is equal to the quantity of labor required to produce two bushels.

U. S.—Correct.—The exchange value of one yard has become equal to two bushels. And suppose the method of producing wheat were further perfected, and ten bushels were turned out in the same time that it formerly took to turn out one?

B. J. (*beating his hands with glee*)—That would be bully! I would then get ten bushels per yard of cloth. The exchange value of my cloth is equal to ten bushels.

U. S.—And if 100 bushels were turned out in the time it now takes to turn out one?

B. J.—Bullier yet! I would get 100 bushels per yard; that would be the exchange value of one yard of my cloth.

U. S.—You are joyful before season. Don't you se whither that tends?

B. J.—No!

U. S.—Let us turn the tables around. Suppose some one starts weaving with a better machine than yours and turns out two yards in the same time it takes you to turn out one, do you imagine the farmer would let you have a whole bushel of wheat for one yard of your cloth?

B. J.'s *face begins to fall.*

U. S.—Would he?

B. J—No.

U. S.—How much will he let you have?

B. J.—Guess only half a bushel.

U. S.—Why?

B. J.—Because that has become the exchang value of his bushel of wheat.

U. S.—And suppose that competing weaver turns out ten yards with his machine while you are turning out only one, what would then be the exhnge value of the goods of you and the farmer?

B. J.—One yard of my cloth would be worth one-tenth of a bushel.

U. S.—And if your competitor turned out 100 yards to your one?

B. J. (*with a decidedly sad look on him*)—I would starve.

U. S.—Why?

B. J.—Because one yard of my goods would be worth only one-hundredth bushel, and I could not then produce fast enough to kep me in food.

U. S.—Do you now see whither all that tends?

B. J.—I have an idea I do.

U. S.—Whither does it tend?

B. J.—It tends to my ruin.

U. S.—Let us state the case more pointedly: The law of exchange value demonstrates that the more perfect machinery becomes—

B. J.—The less labor is spent in the production of a single thing——

U. S.—And consequently that he who has not the requisite capital, or machinery to produce with——

B. J.—Can't compete with him who has.

U. S.—And that the result is that he must be ruined. The new Northrup loom, for instance, will throw you on your back, the same as perfected machinery has thrown every small competitor on his back. Now do you see all that there is in that simple law of "exchange value?"

B. J.—(*heaves a long sigh*)—Guess I now do.

U. S.—The law of exchange value is a cardinal law of economics. It should be carried before the eyes as the Jews carry their phylacteries. It must never be lost sight of. If you lose sight of it for a moment, your whole reasoning capsizes.

Labor, the quantity of labor society needs to produce goods with, establishes the exchange value of hose goods.

From that fact follows inevitably:

1. That the less labor society needs for the production of anyhing, all the less is its exchange value;

2. That machinery, because it increases production and the productive power of labor, causes the exchange value of goods to decline;

3. That, as a result of this, those who cannot produce with machinery as perfect as the most perfect, are unable long to compete with him who can, because the exchange value of the goods produced by him is so much cheaper than he can undersell the others and drive them out of the market.

4. That the small man is hopelessly lost, whether on farm or in factory.

5. That the price the worker can get for his labor-power steadily declines—all the advantages of increased production of wealth falling to the capitalists, i. e., to hose who hold possession of the perfected machine;

6. That the masses, unbale to earn their living, because deprived of the instruments socially necessary to produce them, are bound to become more and more dependent upon the capitlists; and

7. That nothing short of placing in the hands of the workers the machinery and the land they need for production will in the remotest way do them any good. Otherwise they will deline steadily and inevitably.

B. J. (*giving* UNCLE SAM *his hand*)—You were right. Technical language is a necessity in dealing with such questions; I now see it all as in a rnap. The law of exchange value settles the question. We may flounder about as we like for an escape from the increasingly tighter fix in which we are getting, but no scheme will bring help. The law of exchange values settles it, that we must move on towards Socialism. That or death.

U. S.—And now you realize te wisdom of the Socialists to hammer upon that point?

B. J.—Fully. Only by constant hammering will that truth finally stick in our noddles. With it we will move on and conquer; without it we shall flounder about as I did at first. Hammer, Uncle Sam, hammer away!

Congress District Conventions.

EVERETT, MASS., April 30, 1900.

SECTION BROCKTON:

You are hereby requested to elect delegates to the Twelfth Congressional District's convention, to be held in Taunton, May 20, 1900, 8 p. m.

Basis of representation to be one delegate for every fifty votes, or major fraction thereof, cast in your town or city for S. L. P. candidate for Governor in 1899.

This convention is held for the purpose of electing delegates to the National Convention, to be held in New York, June 2, 1900. Basis of representation to be one delegate for each Congressional district, and one additional delegate for every one thousand votes, or major fraction thereof, cast for the S. L. P. candidate for Governor in 1899 in your Congressional district.

ALFRED JONES,
Secretary.

Socialist Young Man Wanted.

The New York Labor News Company wishes to employ a young man (Socialist) to make himself generally useful in the business of the company. References required. Applicants should address the manager in their own handwriting, stating salary expected.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY,
2, 4 and 6 New Reade street, N.Y.

The receipt of a sample copy of THE PEOPLE is an invitation to subscribe.

THE DOMINATION

Held Over the Wage-Earning Class by the "Captains of Industry."

As a general rule, laborers cannot co-operate without being brought together; their assemblage in one place is a necessary condition of their co-operation. Hence, wage-laborers cannot co-operate unless they are employed simultaneously by the same capital, the same capitalist, and unless, therefore, their labor powers are bought simultaneously by him. The total value of these labor powers, or the amount of the wages of these laborers for a day or a week, as the case may be, must be ready in the pocket of the capitalist before the workmen are assembled for the process of production. The payment of 300 workmen at once, though only for one day, requires a greater outlay of capital than does the payment of a smaller number of men, week by week, during a whole year. Hence the number of laborers that co-operate, or the scale of co-operation, depends, in the first instance, on the amount of capital that the individual capitalist can spare for the purchase of labor-power—in other words, on the extent to which a single capitalist has command over the means of subsistence of a number of laborers.

And as is with the variable, so it is with the constant capital. For example, the outlay on raw material is 30 times as great for the capitalist who employes 300 men as it is for each of the 30 capitalists who employ 10 men. The value and quantity of the instruments of labor used in common do not, it is true, increase at the same rate as the number of workmen, but they do increase very considerably. Hence, concentration of large masses of the means of production in the hands of individual capitalists is a material condition for the co-operation of wage-laborers; and the extent of the co-operation, or the scale of production, depends on the extent of this concentration.

Exigency of Capitalist Production.

A certain minimum amount of capital was necessary in order that the number of laborers simultaneously employed, and, consequently, the amount of surplus-value produced, might suffice to liberate the employer himself from manual labor—to convert him from a small master into a capitalist—and thus formally to establish capitalist production. A certain minimum amount is a necessary condition for the conversion of numerous isolated and independent processes into one combined social process.

At first the subjection of labor to capital was only a formal result of the fact that the laborer, instead of working for himself, works for, and consequently under, the capitalist. By the co-operation of numerous wage-laborers, the sway of capital develops into a requisite for carrying on the labor-process itself—into a real requisite of production. That a capitalist should command on the field of production is now as indispensable as that a general should command on the field of battle.

Central Direction..

All combined labor on a large scale requires more or less directing authority in order to secure the harmonious working of the individual activities, and to perform the general functions that have their origin in the action of the combined organism, as distinguished from the ... tion of its separate organs. A single violin player is his own conductor; an orchestra requires a separate one. The work of directing, superintending, and adjusting becomes one of the functions of capital from the moment that the labor under the control of capital becomes co-operative. Once a function of capital, it acquires special characteristics.

The directing motive—the end and aim of capitalist production—is to extract the greatest possible amount of surplus value, and, consequently, to exploit labor-power to the greatest possible extent. As the number of the co-operating laborers increases, so, too, does their resistance to the domination of capital, and with it the necessity for capital to overcome this resistance by counter-pressure. The control exercised by the capitalist is not only a special function due to the nature of the social labor-process, and peculiar to that process, but it is, at the same time, a function of the exploitation of a social labor-process, and peculiar to that process, and is consequently rooted in the unavoidable antagonism between the exploiter and the living and laboring raw material he exploits.

Whence the Despotic Rule of the Capitalist

Again, in proportion to the increasing ... of the means of production, now ... longer the property of the laborer, ... of the capitalist, the necessity increases for some effective control over the proper application of those means. Moreover, the co-operation of wage-laborers is entirely brought about by the capital that employs them. Their union into one single productive body, and the establishment of a connection between their individual functions, are matters foreign and external to them—are not their own act, but the act of the capital that brings and keeps them together. Hence the connection existing between their various labors appears to them, ideally, in the shape of a preconceived plan of the capitalist, and practically in capitalist—in the shape of the powerful will of another, who subjects their activity to his aims. If, then, the control of the capitalist is in substance twofold by reason of the two-fold nature of the process of production itself—which, on the one hand, is a social process for producing use-values; on the other, a process for creating surplus-value—in form that control is despotic. As co-operation extends its scale, this despotism takes form peculiar to itself. Just as, at first, the capitalist is relieved from actual labor as soon as his capital has reached that minimum amount with which capitalist production, as such, begins, so, now, he ... over the work of direct and constant supervision of the individual workmen and groups of workmen to a special kind of wage-laborer. An industrial army of workmen, under the command of a capitalist, requires, like a real army, officers (managers) and sergeants (foremen, overlookers), who, while the work is being done, command in the name of the capitalist. The work of supervision becomes their established and exclusive function.

When comparing the mode of production of isolated peasants and artisans with production by slave-labor, the political economist counts this labor of superintendence among the *faux frais* of production. But, when considering the capitalist mode of production, he, on the contrary, treats the work of control made necessary by the co-operative character of the work of control necessitated by the capitalist character of that process and the antagonism of interests between capitalist and laborer. It is not because he is a leader of industry that a man is a capitalist; on the contrary, he is a leader of industry because he is a capitalist. The leadership of industry is an attribute of capital, just as in feudal times the functions of general and judge were attributes of landed property.

What the Capitalist Gets Gratis.

The laborer is the owner of his labor-power until he has done bargaining for its sale with the capitalist; and he can sell no more than what he has—*i. e.*, his individual, isolated labor power. This state of things is in no way altered by the fact that the capitalist, instead of buying the labor-power of one man, buys that of 100, and enters into separate contracts with 100 unconnected men instead of with one. He is at liberty to set the 100 men to work, without letting them co-operate. He pays them the value of 100 independent labor powers, but he does not pay for the combined labor-power of the hundred. Being independent of each other, the laborers are isolated persons, who enter into relations with the capitalist, but not with one another. This co-operation begins only with the labor process, but they have then ceased to belong to themselves. On entering that process they become incorporated with capital. As co-operators, as members of a working organism, they are but special modes of existence of capital. Hence, the productive power developed by the laborer when working in co-operation is the productive power of capital. This power is developed gratuitously whenever the workmen are placed under given conditions, and it is capital that places them under such conditions. Because this power costs capital nothing, and because, on the other hand, the laborer himself does not develop it before his labor belongs to capital, it appears as a power with which capital is endowed by Nature—a productive power that is immanent in capital.

The colossal effects of simple co-operation are to be seen in the gigantic structures of the ancient Asiatics, Egyptians, Etruscans, etc. "It has happened in times past that these Oriental States, after supplying the expenses of their civil and military establishments, have found themselves in possession of a surplus which they could apply to works of magnificence or utility; and in the construction of these their command over the hands and arms of almost the entire non-agricultural population has produced stupendous monuments, which still indicate their power. The teeming valley of the Nile . . . produced food for a swarming, non-agricultural population; and this food, belonging to the monarch and the priesthood, afforded the means of erecting the mighty monuments which filled the land. . . . In moving the colossal statues and vast masses of which the transport create wonder, human labor almost alone was prodigally used. . . . The number of the laborers and the concentration of their efforts sufficed. We see mighty coral reefs rising from the depths of the ocean into islands and firm land, yet each individual depositor is puny, weak and contemptible. The non-agricultural laborers of an Asiatic monarchy have little but their individual bodily exertions to bring to the task; but their number is their strength, and the power of directing these masses gave rise to the palaces and temples, the pyramids and the armies of gigantic statues of which the remains astonish and perplex us. It is that confinement of the revenues which feed them to one or a few hands, which makes such undertakings possible. This power of Asiatic and Egyptian kings, Etruscan theocrats, etc., has in modern society been transferred to the capitalist, whether he be an isolated, or, as in joint-stock companies, a collective capitalist.

Genesis of Co-operation.

Co-operation, such as we find it at the dawn of human development, among races who live by the chase, or, say, in the agriculture of Indian communities, is based, on the one hand, on ownership in common of the means of production, and, on the other hand, on the fact that in those cases each individual has no more torn himself off from the navel-string of his tribe or community than each bee has freed itself from connection with the hive. Such co-operation is distinguished from capitalistic co-operation by both of the above characteristics. The sporadic application of co-operation on a large scale in ancient times, in the middle ages, and in modern colonies, reposes on relations of dominion and servitude, principally on slavery. The capitalistic form, on the contrary, presupposes, from first to last, the free wage-laborer, who sells his labor-power to capital. Historically, however, this form is developed in opposition to peasant agriculture and to the carrying on of independent handicrafts, whether in guild or not. From the standpoint of these, capitalistic co-operation does not manifest itself as a particular historical form of co-operation; but co-operation itself appears to be a historical form peculiar to, and specifically distinguishing, the capitalist process of production.

Just as the social productive power of labor that is developed by co-operation appears to be the productive power of capital, so co-operation itself, contrasted with the process of production carried on by isolated independent laborers, or even by small employers, appears to be a specific form of the capitalist process of production. It is the first change experienced by the actual labor-process, when subjected to capital. This change takes place spontaneously. The simultaneous employment of a large number of wage-laborers, in one and the same process, which is a necessary condition of this change, also forms the starting-point of capitalist production. This point coincides with the birth of capital itself. If then, on the one hand, the capitalist mode of production presents itself to us historically as a necessary condition to the transformation of the labor-process into a social process, so, on the other hand, this social form of the labor-process presents itself, as a method employed by capital for the more profitable exploitation of labor by increasing that labor's productiveness.

Transformation of Co-operation.

In the elementary form, under which we have hitherto viewed it, co-operation is a necessary concomitant of all production on a large scale; but it does not, in itself, represent a fixed form characteristic of a particular epoch in the development of the capitalist mode of production. At the most it appears to do so, and that only approximately, in the handicraft-like beginnings of manufacture, and in that kind of agriculture on a large scale, which corresponds to the epoch of manufacture, and is distinguished from peasant agriculture mainly by the number of laborers simultaneously employed, and by the mass of the means of production concentrated for their use. Simple co-operation is always the prevailing form, in those branches of production in which capital operates on a large scale, and division of labor and machinery play but a subordinate part.

Co-operation ever constitutes the fundamental form of the capitalist mode of production; nevertheless, the elementary form of co-operation continues to subsist as a particular form of capitalist production side by side with the more developed forms of the mode of production—MARX' "CAPITAL."

DAILY PEOPLE.

Report of the Conference and General Activity.

DAILY PEOPLE GENERAL FUND.

Previously acknowledged	$8,855.73
Received from E. Siff, Financial Secretary, Daily People Conference	188.50
Received from Jos. H. Sauter, Treasurer Daily People Concert, third payment to total of $1,000, and more to come..	200.00
Received for Minor Fund (sale of Kangaroo song, Baltimore, Md., 15 cents; John Churches, Eureka, Cal., $4; Alice M. Burnham, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., $1	5.15
Total	$9,249.38

HENRY KUHN,
Financial Secretary-Treasurer.

DAILY PEOPLE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

The following amounts have been received from sources other than those represented in the Daily People Conference of New York:

Previously acknowledged	$715.80
State Committee New York collected as follows: Section Newburgh, 7.20; through Chris. Rossbach, Gloversville: Chr. Rossbach, 50 cents; John Bonacher, $1; Dr. Hager, $1; Rud. Zeh, 25 cents; F. B. Stowe, 50 cents	10.45
State Committee New York: contributed by members of Section Johnstown	5.06
State Committee New York: contributed by Sec. College Point.	7.50
State Committee Minnesota, per C. G. Davidson: contributed by Bert Eide, Red Wing	5.00
State Committee New York: contribution of Section Rochester, through M. Sheehan	2.00
State Committee New York: contribution of Section Yonkers, through J. J. Sweeney	25.00
State Committee Washington, per T. J. Dean: contribution of Section Woolly, $11; J. H. Norovich, of Seattle, $1	12.00
Frank Leitner San Antonio, Tex.	3.00
State Committee Virginia: contribution of Section Richmond, per H. A Muller	17.75
State Committee New York: contribution of L. Hoeckel, Johnstown	2.00
State Committee New York: contribution of Section Buffalo: From entertainment of Section and Socialist Singing Society $12.50: from Chas. Nelson, $5; from Brinkner, 50 cents	18.06
State Committee New York: contribution of H. J. Roob, Tarrytown	5.00
B. Hang, Philadelphia, Pa	2.00
Total	$830.00

CORRECTION.

In the last published report of The Daily People National Committee, the contribution of $1.50 by Jas. Mathews of Collinswood, O., was omitted through a typographical error.

DAILY PEOPLE CONFERENCE.

Meeting of Sunday, April 29, with Comrade John Slevin as chairman. Credentials received from Comrades Jos. Job, in place of H. Ehrenpreis, from 6th and 10th A. D., Manhattan; L. Weinecke and K. Wallberg, from Scandinavian Workingmen's Singing Society, and Szalcsanyi, from 5th A. D., Brooklyn. New delegates were seated. Comrades Vinoker, Beldner and Deichman, from 8th A. D., Manhattan, were seated without credentials, but instructed to bring same to next meeting.

A communication received from Section Union Hill, N. J., stating that a picnic is being arranged, to take place on Decoration Day, in the Hudson County Park, at Bergenline avenue and Fifth street, Union Hill, the entire profits to go to the Daily People Fund.

Organizer reported progress in the arrangement of the West Side mass meeting, in which assistance is being given by comrades of the West Side districts. Further, urged all comrades having in charge the collecting of the Daily People funds to put forth their supreme efforts to have all pledges paid up as soon as possible, because the number and extent of the necessary facilities to be established will depend upon the amount of money collected and in the hands of the Trustees of the DAILY PEOPLE NOW.

A committee of Comrades Sam Stoden and Morris Wiei was elected to take charge of all the pledges, and arrange them so as to facilitate their collection. Delegates of all the organizations represented in the conference are instructed to furnish to this committee complete lists of pledges, with amounts paid thereon, and with names and addresses of pledgers. Committee will be on hand at every meeting of the conference, and delegates should not put off the matter, but attend to it as soon as possible.

Roll call was responded to by following delegates:

MANHATTAN—Assembly Districts, 4th, 6th and 10th, 8th, 12th, 16th, 18th, 19th and 21st, 20th, 23d, 26th, 28th, 32d and 33d; Excelsior Literary Society and Scandinavian Workingmen's Singing Society.

KINGS—Assembly Districts: 5th, Branches 1 and2 of 21st, and Danish Daily People Club.

NEW JERSEY—Section Hudson County.

Consideration of change of date of conference was deferred till next meeting, and Comrade Siff elected a committee to confer with the Daily People Trustees as to feasibility of conferene meetings taking place in the Daily People Building.

FINANCIAL REPORT.

MANHATTAN ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS.

4th	$5.00
6th and 10th	10.00
8th	3.25
12th	21.00
14th	20.50
15th and 17th	7.50
16th (Young Men's Soc. Club)	50.00
18th	5.00
19th and 21st	20.00
23rd	5.00
26th (Headquarters, $10)	12.30
28th	16.00
KINGS.	
21st, Branch 2	1.00
NEW JERSEY.	
Section Hudson County	8.25
EVESTON, MO.	
James Erwin	.25
Total	$185.05

Additional payment of pledges reported:

Patrick Twomey, 23d A. D., N. Y.	$2.00
Miss Tissie Zepfel, 28th A. D., N.Y.	5.00
L. Neuman, 28th A. D., N. Y.	5.00
J. Krouse, Weehawken	2.00
J. Burke, Weehawken	2.00
N. Deitrich, Hoboken	1.00
K. Zimmerman, Hoboken	1.00

Next meeting of conference takes place on Sunday, May 6, at 3 p. m., at 98 Avenue C. Delegates should not fail to attend, so that a date of meeting inconvenient to them may not be selected.

JULIUS HAMMER,
Secretary.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.

Don't write on both sides of the sheet.
Don't write on tissue paper.
Don't write with pencil.
Don't write with a broom stick if a toothpick is handy, pens preferred.
Don't crowd your lines.
Don't begin at the uppermost edge of the sheet.
Don't abbreviate.
Don't forget to give your P. O. address and date of letter.
Don't forget to give name and date of paper when sending clippings.
Don't write your signature as though you wished to remain incognito.
Don't write proper names so as to insure the chances of their being misspelled.
Don't write on sheets of uneven size.
Don't take this ill.

Stirring Up Los Angeles.

TO THE PEOPLE.—For the last two days we here in Los Angeles have been arousing the denizens of this burg. Wishing to get some knowledge into the craniums of the unthinking and indifferent workingmen and starting out with a bundle of THE PEOPLE, numbering fifty, with the "Story of the Bull Pen" neatly slipped inside of the paper, I commenced in regular newsboy fashion to sell them on the streets and in the parks, hollering the while at the top of my voice: "The NEW YORK PEOPLE, with the 'Story of the Bull Pen,' the Idaho outrage, the most atrocious crime of the century."

The music was correct with this song, as I peddled papers in my younger days in Chicago. Everybody seemed surprised to see a new newsboy in town, and the paper sold quite readily, my first half day of shouting having dwindled the pile down to twelve;—the paper and the story for five cents.

Next day, or half day rather, I disposed of thirty more, and only stopped because I had no more "Bull Pen" stories left. This has brought quite a little profit for the Section, and Comrade Norman has ordered 100 more. I am sorry it is not 500, because I know we can sell that many more, easily enough, and if my enthusiasm keeps up and I have the time to spare, the New York Labor News Company, the Party's literary agency, will be kept pretty busy sending "Bull Pen" stories to Los Angeles.

Now comrades, many of you can do the same thing, and our case will be put before the people better. It enlivens them and, besides, places our paper in the front ranks. Meanwhile, in waiting for more "Stories" to come, being a sign painter, I have made three 6x2-foot signs outside of our headquarters window, reading thus:

(1)—"Read of the Bull Pen: It is a blot on American history."

(2)—"Have you read the 'Story of the Bull Pen'?"

(3)—"The Crime of the Century. Read the 'Story of the Bull Pen.'"

And the passersby wonder what it is all about. The inscriptions stick in their gills; and no doubt they are anxious to read.

Next Sunday I will frequent the parks, selling "Reform or Revolution" with THE PEOPLE, and shall notify you all of my success.

Kangaroos and Debsites stand aghast, while the "Story" and papers sell like hot cakes. The Section's fighting arms are free, and capitalism is catching h——. I might add that Section Los Angeles has 400 subscribers for the only good paper on earth.

A. H. BOAL.
Los Angeles, Cal., April 17.

A Correction.

TO THE PEOPLE.—In my letter to THE PEOPLE I made a missstatement, in which I say that our vote is the same as four years ago. It should be that it is the same as two years ago. Kindly correct the same in copy.

FRANK R. WILKE.
Milwaukee, Wis., April 22.

Rubbish Swept Away.

TO THE PEOPLE.—L. A. No. 185, Boston Machinists, last night held its regular meeting, attended by nearly all its members, who have up to this point withstood the influences of Kangaroo and Avery-Goldsteinisms. The meeting was probably the most interesting one we as yet have held, receiving report from the Schulberg lecture committee that everything pointed to a success for the lecture on the 15th inst.

John F. Jennings (a pupil of M. M Avery) tendered by mail his resignation as a member of the Union, which was without discussion accepted.

Under the head of "New Business" Wm. R. Dyer (who was present) also tendered his resignation. When asked to give some reasons, he stated that the Alliance under the leadership of "this crowd in New York never would amount to anything," and for a second reason, "I can, at this time, do better with the I. A. of M. than with the S. T. & L. A." The comrades, who have for the past six months made a thorough study of this "man," hereupon gave him a deservedly good roasting. Of course, everything said appeared to him as "lies;" even that his poor brains stood under the influence of a scheming woman was "a lie." When the vote on his resignation was called for every voice in the hall (except Dyer's) responded with unusual strength in its favor, after which Comrade W. H. Young ordered him out of the hall for having no business in a business meeting of a Union to which he did not belong. Dyer then left; surely not a happy looking man. He looked very sick, and reasons had he to feel sick. Dyer never dared to openly work his intentions to disrupt and kill the local. A rumor from the pure and simple camp has it that he at this meeting would present resolutions recommending withdrawal from the S. T. & L. A., and to join the pure and simplers. If this was true, then it was also true that he kept them nicely and tightly in his pocket. And here he was sensible; further monkeying with such stuff would only have been dynamit to him.

This explains the feeling of the members of the local. About all there is of "isms," except S. T. & L. A. and S. L. P.-isms, is herewith cleansed from the local, and progress is now possible.

W. H. Young was elected president, and C. Arvid Olson recording secretary, at meeting previous to this one.

C. ARVID OLSEN.
Hyde Park, Mass., April 10.

Political Formations.

TO THE PEOPLE.—In THE PEOPLE of the 22d, in editorial "The Logic of the Situation," it is shown that the material interests of the country require only the same number of political parties that there are class interests, and that all efforts to create a needless party must inevitably result in disaster. The history of the Populist movement well illustrates the points made in the editorial.

The Democratic party, the party of the middle class, the little that it has been in power in recent years, demonstrated that it could not turn back the tide of industrial development, the stemming of which is absolutely necessary to middle class existence, so it drifted with the current, and became the lackey of the capitalist class. Meanwhile the small farmer and business man, dissatisfied with the meagre results from Democratic victory, and spurred on by the agitators of the Grange and kindred organizations, broke away from the party of their class and set up a rival political organization—the People's party.

The somewhat "radical" expressions of its platform and the growing discontent, which vaguely sought expression, induced many wage-workers to support the new party at the polls, so that in the first year of its existence—1892—it polled over one million votes. At the following Congressional elections it was credited with 1,500,000 votes. It elected governors, state legislators, Congressmen, and even sent its adherents to the United States Senate—Populistic attempts to retard inustrial development proved as futile as those made by the Democrats. This futility was attributed to lack of complete control of the political power.

The Democratic party at last awoke to a realization of the true state of affairs, readjusted itself to the new conditions, and with Bryan and the Chicago platform, it offered to the Pops the glamour of immediate and complete success of "their ideas" when joined to the more powerful and rejuvenated Democracy.

The result was the complete smash-up of the Populist movement; so completely was the party wrecked that in this state they have not had a ticket in the field for two years. An attempt will be made to reorganize the party,—but "as well give physic to the dead."

One of the humorous events in Populist history was the convention of the "middle roaders"—those who had opposed fusion with the Democrats—held at Cincinnati, on September 6, 1898, to nominate a Presidential ticket for 1900—near two years before the election. This convention embalmed the Populist corpse by putting in the field at that time Wharton Barker for President and Ignatius Donnelly for Vice-President. It adopted what has been declared as the longest platform ever adopted by a party convention in this country. They then declared "The sole object of this convention has been, and is, to secure to the rank and file of the People's party an absolute certainty that a straight Populist ticket on a straight Populist platform shall be presented in 1900."

But all without avail. What is left of the rapidly diminishing Pop party is now fairly split in two: one National convention is to be held at Sioux Falls, S. D., on May 9; another is to be held same date at Cincinnati, Ohio. The middle of the roaders—the ultra radical wing—who are to meet at Cincinnati, will look in vain for a return of the soul to the body. Instead they will find that, despite the effort at preservation, putrefaction has been actively at work. The Hon. Ignatius Donnelly, for near two years their nominee for Vice-President, is reported as proposing to secure "the backing of the business interests of the country" in aid of his party—provided it will forsake some of its demands.

These things are of interest only as they furnish practical demonstration of S. L. P. teaching and tactics.

JOHN HOSSACK.
Jersey City, N. J., April 24.

"Practical Socialism."

TO THE PEOPLE.—Believing that you will gladly publish in THE PEOPLE—the paper everywhere recognized as the leader in the people's efforts to better their social conditions—any item that shows progress along these lines, we beg to inform you that our employer, Mr. A. MacInnes, 85 Cortlandt street, who has long been a Socialist of decided views, has given to each of his employees a liberal share in the profits of his business.

Perhaps the publication of this fact may induce a few more employers to consider whether such action on their part might not be conducive to their own and the general good. J. W. C.

[It is not unfair to our correspondent to assume that, in the above, he has stated all the facts available to him to make out his case of "Practical Socialism." The facts alleged, prove just the reverse. They make out a very clear case of "Practical Capitalism," or "Practical Scuttling of Socialism."

Such a thing as an employer, a capitalist, being decidedly and honestly a Socialist is not an impossibility. Decent feelings, coupled with proper intellectual powers, may tear a capitalist from and raise him above his own class interests, causing him to do all he can to abolish the social system of plunder and establish the Socialist Republic. In pursuit of such a course, such an exceptional capitalist should not be expected to first pauperize himself. That would be foolish: it would impair his powers for doing good. Consequently, Mr. MacInnes' continuing to exercise the powers of a capitalist, despite the alleration of his being a Socialist, contains no contradiction. Neither, yet, is there any contradiction between the allegation of the gentleman's Socialism and his giving to his employes presents not large enough to free them from wage-slavery. Altho' Socialism aims at the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class and the unqualified emancipation of the wage-slave, it does not ignore the value of palliatives, temporary reliefs, that may mitigate the present horrors wrought by capitalism. Consequently, the presents made to the wage-slaves in the present case need not necessarily be denials of Socialism. In that case, however, the palliatives must be such expressly, all the more so, seeing that it is a very common scheme to deny Socialism by indulging in just such distribution of palliatives. Our correspondent throws no light upon this. He says nothing to justify the conclusion that his employer seeks to relieve the present burden of his wage-slaves and at the same time urges them on their liberation. He says nothing to justify the inference that his employer's purpose is, not to reconcile his wage-slaves to their present fate, but to invigorate them for the class-conscious struggle against the exploiter. It is fair to assume that, if our correspondent had facts to allege in this sense, he would not have omitted them. Having omitted them, he had none to allege; and, accordingly, his allegations go to prove just the reverse of what he tries to do.

There is nothing more harmful to the race than the gilding of the yoke of wage-slavery. The scheme is common just now. It is intended to dull the revolutionary promptings of the working class. Profit sharing is one of these fiendish devices.—ED. THE PEOPLE.]

Mr. Benham Mad Through and Through.

TO THE PEOPLE.—"He came, he saw"—he (got) left. On the evening of April 11, a meeting, much heralded and advertised, was held here in St. Paul, at Assembly Hall by the "Amalgated Socialist," the "Consolidated Socialist," the everlastingly "United Socialist" party. Mr. Lucas presided. This should be sufficient to indicate the nature of the "new socialism." Mr. Lucas is so well known to THE PEOPLE that it is unnecessary to waste time and paper in portraying this character. The less said about him the better—for him. He opened the meeting by stating that the purpose was to "harmonize the Socialist forces." The members of Section St. Paul S. L. P. who were present and constituted the larger part of the audience, succeeded admirably in convincing Mr. Lucas that there exists the most perfect harmony among the Socialists. Mr. G. B. Benham, of San Francisco, who had been advertised to speak to "Trade Unionists," spoke of everything else except what might reasonably have been expected. Only once did he mention the subject, when he in a casual manner stated that the "party" represented by the bogus Rochester canvention was full of friendly feelings toward the pure and simple unions. After Mr. Benham had closed, Mr. Lucas announced that the speaker would answer all questions and comments. He also urged all who desired to join an organization for the purpose of furthering the cause advocated by the speaker to remain, as such an organization would be formed at the close of the meeting. Mr. Benham, who, if noses are indicative of intellect, certainly is a "shining light," failed to fulfill the promise made by the chairman. He did not answer a single one of the numerous questions asked him, with the exception of perhaps his own and the two or three Kangaroos' present. Even that may be doubted. Mr. Benham did certainly not look very satisfied. Upon being asked if he, knowing that the S. L. P. had a ticket in the field for the coming city election, would advise the working people of St. Paul to vote for the Socialist candidates, Mr. Benham did some characteristic mental jumping, and upon being hard pressed, he finally said, that not being acquainted with the local affairs of the city he refused to answer "yes or no." "Where is the head of your party and who is it? we know where the tail is." "Why do you want to start a new Section here when you see that there is already one in good-working order?" These questions and several more Mr. Benham evaded with a dexterity undoubtedly a result of long practise in coming face to face with the truth. After stating that "the S. L. P. is made up of and led by men of whose tactics and mean spirit the vicious and vulgar language used by THE PEOPLE, of 61 Beekman street is sufficient evidence," he proceeded to give a sample of the beautiful English language as "she is spoke" by him and his ilk. Not being able to refute the charge or answer the questions put to him by the loyal members of the Section, he resorted to the methods of his kind and abused the S. L. P. in the worst Billingsgate ever heard. He called the N. S. C. thieves, usurpers and midnight assasins, etc., etc., and thus gave himself away right along, showing also that he took no stock in his own claim that there was no such N. E. C. any more. Several comrades arose to a point of order asking Mr. Benham to prove his "statements," but the Hon. Mr. Lucas, who felt the atmosphere growing warm, savagely pounded his gavel and shouted at the top of his voice that he would run this meeting and have fair play. Oh, ye gods! Several members of the Section succeeded, however, in getting the floor long enough to fire some hot shots. Comrade Hammond made it decidedly uncomfortable for Mr. Benham, and pricked the latter's beautifully colored bubbles as fast as they emanated from that worthy's blow-pipe. Well, what could we do but accept their invitation to stay and discuss the "new idea." Oh, yes; we stayed with them and laid the freaks bare and disclosed the scheme in all its ugly character, and demonstrated that it is a fatal undertaking to cross the firing line of the S. L. P. Not one person responded to the call to organize the fake Section. The meeting ended with three rousing cheers for the S. L. P. The importing of Benham accomplished only this, that it unmasked the Kangaroo element and showed how very few of them are left, and they are dying out. We hope that wherever Mr Benham may speak, that the comrades who can will give him a dose of the medicine he got in St. Paul. A. L. A.
Secretary.
St. Paul, Minn., April 20.

The "Universal Brotherhood" Organization.

TO THE PEOPLE.—I will try to answer Mr. J. Levin's question regarding the Universal Brotherhood organization of theosophy. I am no adherent or promulgator of the ideas advanced by the U. B. but still find it interesting to follow up these matters.

The U. B. claims to be an organization established for the benefit of mankind and all creatures of the earth. The subsidiary purpose of the organization is to study ancient and modern religion, science, philosophy and art; to investigate the laws of nature and the divine powers in man.

The Theosophists claim that this organization is a part of a great and universal movement, which has been active in all ages the world over, and they declare that it has been and is to-day the highest aim and ideal of every savior of mankind. Every member has the right to believe or disbelieve in any religious system or philosophy, each being required to show that tolerance for the opinions of others, which he expects for his own.

The Theosophical Society in America is the literary department of the U. B.

The leader and official head has supreme power over the entire society, whose word is regarded by all members as "Holy Writ."

E. SCHILLING.
Newark, N. J., April 29.

A Card from the "Workers' Republic."

TO THE PEOPLE.—Owing to various causes, chief among which is lack of adequate financial support, we have been compelled to suspend the paper until the 5th of May, when it will enter the arena of Socialist journalism again. I wish you would insert this notice in the people in order that our subscribers may not think we are neglecting them.

WORKERS' REPUBLIC,
W. J. BRADSHAW, Manager,
Dublin, Ireland, April 23.

Hanford Holding the Tail of Derflinger's Horse.

TO THE PEOPLE.—The comrades outside of the city, who do not closely follow events here in New York, and even many in the city who do not follow events will be interested in the following account:

For the last three weeks or more, the capitalist press of this city, the Tammany ones in particular, have been booming the "May Day Parade of Organised Labor." That this parade was not expected to in any way affect the peace of mind of the capitalists was evident from the booming, and that therefore it was a sham "May Day Parade," was well understood. As Saturday, the 28th, the day of the parade, drew near the booming increased, until on the day of the parade whole columns were taken up with the reports about its bigness, etc., etc.; and here and there the point was made that the "Socialist Labor Party" (sic), the "United Socialists," were to join the parade and make it a monster demonstration;—all of which was duly relished by the knowing ones.

Well the parade came off. A fitter demonstration of the folly of trying to gather strength by the suppression of principle could hardly be imagined. Nor could there be got to order a better demonstration of the total bankruptcy of the allied foes of the S. L. P. I shall mention in succession the points jotted down from my perch, corner of Twentieth Street and Second Avenue.

1. The whole parade, from two to three hundred women included, did not number 3,500. By actual count, there were not on my tally-sheet more than 3,100 men. I make allowance for a few that I might have missed. It being very tiresome to count them, as they were strung out only two abreast, in some instances four abreast, so as to make believe they were numerous.—And this is the best that the Central Federated Union plus Kangaroos or Debserie could do.

2. The marshals were peaches. The chief marshal was one W. F. Derflinger. He is a member of Big Six, and an expert political labor fakir. Two years ago, when Roosevelt was running for Governor, this Derflinger organized the "Roosevelt-MacDonough Legion," heralded to contain a legion of compositors. The "Legion" consisted of just two men: Derflinger himself and one Warren C. Browne, a "5" 6" subsidee of Lemuel E. Quigg, Platt's man.

Another marshal was Samuel Prince, the Tammany Assemblyman from the 16th A. D. He marched at the head of the cigarette makers, and comes fresh from having given his vote to appropriations for the militia.

Then there was Marouschek, whom PEOPLE readers are familiar with as last year's "Independent Labor" candidate for the Assembly on the Republican ticket, and a baker's dozen of others less generally known, but of the same stripe.

Republican soaks, Democratic soaks, and fakirs of all shades marched arm in arm in perfect harmony.

3. The harmony was also illustrated by the transparencies. Right after one recommending "Union Beer" and warning the public that "Scab Beer Makes You Sick," came one announcing the candidacy of "Debs and Harriman"; behind that was one advertising a firm that dealt in "Union Pretzels"; then there was one holding up Bryan as "The Workingman's Friend." And so it went on. In between these supposedly adverse transparencies, moving along in perfect harmony, there went up cheers for Bryan, and for some other local politicians whose names I could not catch, but who were cheered by their titles as "Alderman" so and so; "Senator" so and so.

4. It took by my watch twenty-five minutes for the whole ramshackle affair to file by me, strung out by twos and threes as the paraders were, except the women, who marched in lumps.

When the last "file" had passed by, I cut across to Union square, where the mass meeting was to be. I expected to gather there many more points for this report, but could gather only one. Don't, however, imagine I was dissappointed: that one point was worth many others. The presiding officer at the square was Ben Hanford, Socialist (sic), the gentleman who believes in boring from within. He thus was the second figure of the occasion, Derflinger being the first. How things do fit: A Socialist "borer from within" holding, as it were, the tail of the horse on which a conspicuous labor fakir rode.

But it occurs to me that there was another point brought out on the Square. At the Party parades, the mass-meeting with which the parade always closes at the Square, is a feature of the demonstration. With this parade there was no mass-meeting at the Square. But what of the three thousand and odd paraders? They could surely make a presentable audience at the Square. Where were they? This is the point. As fast as the paraders reached the Square they disbanded and walked away home. I had heard that some of the pure and simple unions had ordered their membership to parade and threatened the men with fines. Those who were intimidated by the threat of a fine marched, but they cared naught for the speeches. So it happened that there were no 300 people in front of the cottage to hear the speakers. And they lost nothing.

This is "harmony!" It is a spavined horse. As THE PEOPLE said, the foes of the S. L. P. are garbage barrel refuse of centrifugal qualities. They can't be brought together, much less held together; not even in a demonstration, that, like this one, was intended to AT the S. L. P., the rising power that they all justly stand in terror of. OBSERVER.
New York, April 30.

LETTER BOX.

Off-hand Answers to Correspondents.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—This having been moving week, the pile of letters to answer is packed away and can't be got out. Wait till we are settled in The Daily People Building.

THE ROYAL VISIT.

"The Great Appear Great to Us, Only Because We Are on Our Knees,

LET US RISE!"

[ISSUED BY THE IRISH SOCIALIST REPUBLICAN PARTY.]

FELLOW WORKERS.—Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, etc., visits Ireland this year. Already the air is laden with rumors of preparations of a wholesale manufacture of sham "popular rejoicings" at this glorious (?) event. Home Rule orators and Nationalist Lord Mayors, Whig politicians and Parnellite pressmen, have ere now lent their prestige and influence to the attempt to arouse public interest in the sickening details of this Feast of Flunkeyism. It is time, then,that some organized party in Ireland—other than those in whose mouths Patriotism means Compromise, and Freedom, High Dividends—should speak out bravely and honestly the sentiments awakened in the breast of every lover of freedom by this ghastly farce now being played out before our eyes. Hence the Irish Socialist Republican Party—which from its inception has never hesitated to proclaim its unswerving hostility to the British Crown, and to the political and social order of which in these islands that Crown is but the symbol—takes this opportunity to hurl at the heads of all he courtly mummers who grovel at the feet of royalty the contempt and hatred of the Irish Revolutionary Democracy. We, at least, are not loyal men; we confess to have more respect and honor for the raggedest child of the poorest laborer in Ireland to-day than for any, even the most virtuous, descendent of the long array of murderers, adulterers and madmen who have sat upon the throne of England. During the reign of this Queen, Ireland has seen 1,225,000 of her children die of famine—starved to death, while the produce of her soil and their labor was eaten up by a vulture aristocracy, enforcing their rents by the bayonets of a hired assassin army in the pay of the "best of English Queens;" the eviction of 3,668,000—a multitude greater than the entire population of Switzerland; and the reluctant emigration of 4,186,000 of our kindred—a greater host than the entire people of Greece. At the present moment 78 per cent of our wage-earners receive less than £1 per week, our streets are thronged by starving crowds of the unemployed, cattle graze on our tenantless farms and around the ruins of our battered homesteads, our ports are crowded with departing emigrants, and our poorhouses are full of paupers. Such are the most salient results of this "glorious" reign—results for which the monarch now visiting us has never uttered one sigh of regret.

Working Class of Ireland.—We appeal to you not to allow your opinions to be misrepresented on this ocasion. Join your voice with ours in protesting against the base assumption that we owe to this Empire any other debt than that of hatred of all its plundering institutions. Let this visit be indeed a memorable one, as marking the date when the Irish workers at last flung off that slavish dependene on the lead of "the gentry," which has paralyzed the arm of every soldier of freedom in the past. The Irish landlords, now as ever the enemy's garrison, instinctively support every institution, wnich, like monarchy, degrades the manhood of the people and weakens the moral fibre of the oppressed; the middle class, absorbed in the pursuit of gold, have pawned their souls for the prostitute glories of commercialism; as rulers of our capital city they assure the world of our loyalty, and remain openly or secretly hostile to every movement which would imperil the sanctity of their dividends: the working class alone have nothing to hope for, save in a revolutionary reconstruction of society. They, and they alone, are capable of that revolutionary initiative, which, with all the political and economic development of the time to aid it, can carry us forward into the Promised Land of Perfect Freedom, the reward of the age-long travail of the people. To you, workers of Ireland, we address ourselves:—Agitate in the workshop, in the field, in the factory, until you arouse you brothers to hatred of the slavery of which we are all the victims:—EDUCATE, that the people may no longer be deluded by illusory hopes of prosperity under any system of society of which monarchs or noblemen, capitalists or landlords form an integral part:—ORGANIZE, that a solid, compact and intelligent force conscious of your mission as a class, you may seize the reins of political power whenever possible, and by intelligent application of the working class ballot clear the field of action for the revolutionary forces of the future. Let the "canting fed classes" bow the knee as they may, be you true to your own manhood, and to the cause of freedom, whose hope is in you, and pressing unweariedly onward in pursuit of the high destiny to which the Socialist Republic invites you, prepare for the glorious day when royalty and royal visits will be alike forgotten.

PROPAGANDA COMMITTEE.

C. PETERSEN,

Insurance,

2-6 New Reade St., Box 1576, MANHATTAN. 166 Fiftieth St., BROOKLYN.

DROP ME A POSTAL. WILL CALL.

Socialistische

ARBEITER-ZEITUNG

The German Organ of the Socialist Labor Party

MAX FORKER, EDITOR.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

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One year	$1.00
Six months	50
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Communications for the Editor should be addressed *Socialistische Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 2-6 New Reade street, New York. P. O. Box, 1576.

Comrades, do your best to introduce it among your German friends and acquaintances.

A CALL.

To the Sections of the Socialist Labor Party, Greeting:

The Sections of the S. L. P. are herewith called upon to make active preparations insuring a full representation at the National Convention of he Party, to be held on June 2, 1900, at 10 a. m., at the Grand Central Palace, New York city. Blank credentials will be sent to the State Committees during this week for distribution among the various Sections.

For the guidance of the Sections in the matter of electing their delegates, we herewith reproduce the provisions of the Party constitution governing the holding of National Conventions:

ARTICLE VI.

CONVENTIONS.

1. A National Convention of the Party shall be held every fourth or Presidential year; but if five Sections in three different states so demand, a general vote shall be taken as to holding a special convention. A general vote shall decide as to the place, but the date of a convention shall be fixed by the National Executive Committee.

2. The Congressional District shall be the basis of representation.

A Section shall be entitled to one delegate for every one thousand S. L P. votes cast in the Congressional District or Districts under its jurisdiction, and to one additional delegate for every major fraction thereof.

Sections whose Congressional District or Districts poll a smaller vote than one thousand shall be entitled to one delegate.

Where several Sections have jurisdiction of one or more Congressional Districts, they shall jointly elect the delegates to which they are entitled.

Delegates must be members of the Section or of one of the Sections electing them.

Each delegate shall have only one vote.

3. The expenses of delegates shall be borne by the Sections sending them. The expenses of the National Convention shall be paid by the Party.

4 The National Convention shall frame the national platform, decide the form of organization, select the seats of the National Executive Committee and Board of Appeals and investigate and decide all difficulties within the Party.

5 All acts of the Convention shall be submitted to the Sections for general vote."

From the foregoing it will appear that the basis of representation is the Congressional District, and when electing delegates to the National Convention, the Sections will please note the following:

1. When several Sections are located in the same Congressional District, they are jointly entitled to one delegate for each one thousand S. L. P. votes cast in such Congressional District, and to one additional delegate for every major fraction of one thousand votes; the Sections must in such case jointly elect their delegate or delegates.

2. Where several Sections have jurisdicton over a number of Congressional Districts (as is the case in New York for instance), they must jointly elect their delegates and they are entitled to one delegate for every one thousand S. L. P. votes cast in the total number of such districts and one additional delegate for a major fraction of one thousand votes over and above the total vote polled in such districts.

3. Where one Section has jurisdiction over several Congressional Districts, it is entitled to one delegate for every one thousand S L. P. votes or major fraction thereof, cast in the total number of such Congressional Districts.

4 Sections whose Congressional District or districts poll S. L. P. vote smaller than one thousand, or have polled no vote at all, are entitled to one delegate.

State Committees, upon receiving the blank credentials, are urged to at once transmit the same to the Sections; Sections, as soon as they have elected their delegates, should report such election to the National Executive and to their respective State Committee.

For the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.

HENRY KUHN,
National Secretary,
2-6 New Reade Street, New York.

Proceedings of the Convention of 1896.

That was a great convention, too. The kangaroos were there, but they were masked. It took us three years to get them out, but we got there just the same.

Shortly after the 1896 Convention the National Executive Committee published the Proceedings in book form. This book can still be obtained, and a glance at its contents will show its importance at this time, especially to those who have joined the Party since then, and desire information as to its growth anterior to their joining.

CONTENTS:

List of Delegates. (This is interesting; get a copy and check off the Kangaroos.)
Report of the National Executive Committee:
1. Development of Capitalism Since Last Convention.
2. Growth of Socialism in Europe.
3. Growth of Socialism in America.
4. Pure and Simple Unions.
5. The Downfall of the K. of L.
6. The S. T. & L. A.
7. Party Organization—State Committees.—Sections.—Growth of the Party in Each State.—The Party Press.—St. Louis "Labor."
8. The Cleveland "Faction."
9. Suspension of Section Cleveland.
10. Agitation Assessment.
11. Central Press Association.
12. Conclusion.
Brower's Address on the S. T. & L. A.
The Debate on the S. T. & L. A.
Discussion on the Organization of the N. E. C.
Discussion on the Organization of the State Committees.
Discussion on Organization of Sections.
Discussion on Organization of National Board of Appeals.
Discussion on Platform.
Etc., Etc., Etc.

Sections should see to it that a copy of this Report is placed in every pubnic library. Ten years from now it will be a valuable historical document.

PRICE, 10 CENTS.

Five copies or over, 8 cents each.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY,
2, 4 and 6 New Reade Street, New York.

The English translation of Karl Marx's "Eighteenth Brumaire," that some time ago ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx's picture as frontispiece. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply at Labor News Company, 147 East 23d street, New York city. Price, 25 cents.

If this paper is being sent to you without you having ordered it, don't refuse it. It has been paid for by a friend of yours Read it, and renew when the trial subscription expires. You will find the date on the wrapper.

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Thomas Curran, Secretary, 64 Hanover street, Providence, R. I.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—A. B. Barter, Secretary, 860 Richmond street, London, Ontario.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—2-6 New Reade street. (The Party's literary agency.)

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting held Monday, April 30. J. H. Sauter in the chair. The financial report for the week ending April 28 showed receipts, $37.85; expenditures, $27.24.

The Iowa State Committee reported that the State Convention will be held at Davenport, Ia., from June 30 to July 2.

Braddock, Pa., reported dissolution of Section No. 1 and reorganization, creating one Section, composed of members of both No.1 and 2.

Washington reported election of a new State Committee.

Section Yonkers sent word that a May Day affair had been arranged for, as per call of N. E. C.

Comrade B. F. Keinard sent an interesting letter from Berlin, Germany, supplementing his previous letter on the movement in France.

Comrade Sauter, who is the treasurer of the Daily People Concert, stated that thus far the affair had yielded $1,000, which sum he had received and turned over to the Daily People Fund in tree installments, but that there was more to come, and it now looked as tho' the proceeds would reach $1,200.

JOHN T. KEVENEY,
Recording Secretary, pro tem.

CALIFORNIA.

STATE COMMITTEE.

To Sections, Comrades and Sympathizers of the cause in California:

The State Committee has taken steps to carry on a vigorous and aggressive propaganda, and push the work of organization throughout the state. Comrade Holmes has been elected as State Organizer to make a tour of the state, and left Los Angeles April 12 for San Francisco, from which point he will proceed into the interior, visiting all important and promising localities. Comrade Holmes will be out on this trip about a month or six weeks, and on his return to Los Angeles another Organizer will be elected and put in the field, to be kept out until the election. The State Committee desires to put two Organizers in the field The agitation must be maintained and the field worked. The State Committee calls upon all Sections and sympathizers of the cause to contribute liberally to the State Propaganda Fund, and co-operate with the State Committee to carry on an aggressive campaign of propaganda and organization.

The State Committee also calls attention to the immediate necessity of taking action to sending delegates to the National Convention, to be held in New York in June, and the raising of funds for that purpose.

By order of the State Committee,
A. KRUSE, Secretary.
205½ S. Main street, Los Angeles.

MASSACHUSETTS.

MALDEN.—At our regular Business Meeting, held Sunday, April 1st, the following officers were elected for the ensuing half year: Organizer, W. V. Robinson, 22 Brackenburg street; Corresponding Secretary, S. Pike, 80 Wentworth street; re elected Financial Secretary, G. F. Lombard, 387 Eastern avenue; re-elected Literary Agent, Archie Scott, 64 Whitman street; Auditing Committee, S. Pike, W. Powers.

S. PIKE,
Secretary Section Malden.

NEW YORK.

SECTION NEW YORK.—General Committee meeting Saturday, April 28, 1900, at 177 First avenue, Manhattan. Chairman, S. D. Cooper; vice-chairman, J. Seidel. Three new delegates were seated. Sixteen new members were admitted. Carl Meisner, 28th A. D., resigned. Edward Moonelis, 26th A. D., preferred charges against Louis B. Schwartz, 28th A. D.

The Entertainment Committee reported $1,017 thus far realized from Daily People Concert, and 6,000 tickets still to be heard from. The banner for the sale of largest number of tickets for the concert was awarded to the 32d and 33d A. D.'s, Manhattan. It furthermore reported that arrangements had been completed for holding the National Convention in the Roof Garden of the Grand Central Palace, and that the reception to the delegates be held on Sunday, June 3; 5,000 tickets have been issued, at twenty-five cents each; no hat checks. Ample arrangements have been made for the entertainment of visitors and guests. Subdivisions are requested to send the Organizer offers of free accomodations for out-of-town delegates to the Convention

It was decided to locate the headquarters of Section New York at 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan (The Daily People Building). It was decided that subdivisions cannot consolidate without the consent of the City Executive Committee. J. Seidel was elected a member of the Credential's Committee, to succeed J. Eberts. The 34th and 35th A. D.'s, Manhattan, presented the Section with a stereopticon, to be used for agitation. A recommendation of the Finance Committee to levy a per capita assessment to defray the expenses of the National Convention was rejected.

Adjournment.

A.C. KUHN,
Secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA.—In the *Bogus* of the 8th inst. apnears a statement that Comrade Clark of Section Philadelphia, Socialist Labor Party, is "under charges." Were I not that inquiries have been made of Comrade Clark as to the correctness of that statement, we would not have given cognizance to it. But it is to assure all comrades and those who concern themselves that we herewith present a total denial of any "charges." No charges were ever brought against Comrade Clark, and no mention or cause of such was ever made. Comrade Clark is more active and efficient as are all other comrades of the Section. And it is because of this activity and efficiency and because the Section is making strides that the "Rushers to Rochester, to Indianapolis, to any old place," are becoming desperate.

By order of Section Philadelphia Press Committee.

WISCONSIN.

To all Sections, S. L. P., members-at-large and readers of THE PEOPLE *in the State of Wisconsin:*

COMRADES: You are hereby informed that Comrade Richard Koeppel has been duly elected by Section Milwaukee, S. L. P., as Secretary of the State Committee. You are requested to carrry on an active correspondence with the comrade, so as to keep up a closer connection with each other and to strengthen the ties of solidarity. Comrade Koeppel will promptly and conscientiously reply to all correspondence and give all information wanted, to the best of his ability and knowledge. The address of the newly elected Secretary of the State Committee is Richard Koeppel, 1035 Fifth street, Milwaukee, Wis. The other members of the State Committee have been re-elected by acclamation.

JOHN STEPHAN
Organizer.
138 Center street, Milwaukee.

Grand Annual Outing....

OF THE

YORKVILLE AGITATION COMMITTEE, S. L. P.

—ON—

SUNDAY AFTERNOON, MAY 6, 1900.

—TO—

Jahelka's Oak Hill Park, Newtown, L. I.

TICKETS, 10 CENTS.

Games for Young and Old, Prize Bowling.

Comrade Chas. E. Patrick the Socialist Councilman of New Britain, Conn. will speak.

DIRECTIONS TO PARK.—Take 92d or 34th street Ferry: Newtown car to car stables at Woodside. Carry-alls will bring you to the Park.

GRAND CENTRAL PALACE ROOF GARDEN

Lexington Avenue, Bet. 43d and 44th Sts., N. Y.

Grand Entertainment and Reception

TENDERED TO THE DELEGATES TO THE

Tenth National Convention of the S. L. P.

BY SECTION NEW YORK, S. L. P., AND D. A. 49 S. T. & L. A.

On Sunday Afternoon, June 3, 1900

Grand Vaudeville Performance at 3.30. Ball to follow at 8 p. m.

TICKETS ADMITTING ONE, 25 CENTS.

NO HAT CHECKS.

THE NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY has moved to 2, 4 and 6 New Reade Street, where all Correspondence should be addressed.

MOVING WEEK.

For the last few days we have been working all day and overtime preparing to move to the new headquarters of the Socialist Labor Party, on New Reade street. Consequently, there has been but little time to prepare advertisements. A few things however, deserve more than passing attention, and that attention we will give them in an off-hand manner.

Arm and Hammer Emblem Buttons.

We have just received from the manufacturer FIVE THOUSAND of these well-known buttons. The Party's emblem, the Arm and Hammer, appears in white and black over the initials "S. L. P." The background is a brilliant red. It is these buttons that always have such a depressing effect on Samuel Gompers and the other high cockalorums of the fakir brigade.

25 CENTS PER DOZEN.

Arm and Hammer Emblem Buttons for Women.

With quite pleasant frequency there have reached us requests for Arm and Hammer Buttons that can be attached to a woman's jacket, or coat or waist. In this last invoice a number of "Pin Buttons," as we technically call them, were included. They will look well on your wife, your daughter or your sweetheart.

25 CENTS PER DOZEN

Arm and Hammer Pins.

Most Socialists prefer to show their colors by wearing the Arm and Hammer Buttons. Some however, prefer the emblem pins. These pins look like gold—but they are not. They will look very neat for a time, though, on the lapel of one's coat; and when they begin to tarnish—well, they are so cheap you can buy a dozen at a time.

25 CENTS PER DOZEN.

Gold Arm and Hammer Scarf Pins.

And now we come to something more desirable—gold Arm and Hammer Scarf Pins. These pins are made of solid gold, and the design is the famous Arm and Hammer, which we have carried aloft in many a gallant fight with the Capitalists and the Kangaroos. Very neat for the tie.

And this is where the women come in. Summer is nearly here, and with summer comes that classic thing of beauty and joy forever—the shirt waist. This year the shirt waist will be dazzling with tucks, and cords, and folds and hems galore, but it will be more dazzling if one of these Arm and Hammer Gold Pins is used to ornament it.

ONE DOLLAR EACH.

Arm and Hammer Gold Rings.

The proletariat manufactures all the luxuries of life; why shouldn't we wear a few of them? To be sure, a ring isn't much of a luxury, but all the same these Arm and Hammer Gold Rings are neat and serviceable and 18-carats fine. The purchasers are always satisfied. Send a piece of stiff paper that just slips over the knuckle of the finger on which you wish to wear the ring, or get from a jeweller the size of the ring required.

$1.75 EACH.

The "Workers' Republic."

The folloing note from the Manager of the *Worker's Republic* is self-explanatory:

DUBLIN, IRELAND, April 20, 1900.

As possibly our subscribers not having received their *Workers' Republic* for the last couple of months may think on that account that we are neglecting them. We hasten to assure them that such is not the case. Owing to many reasons, financial and otherwise, we were compelled to suspend publication of the paper last February. It will appear in better form, however, on the 5th of May, and our subscribers will receive it as heretofore.

W. J. BRADSHAW,
Hon. Manager.

THE WORKERS' REPUBLIC is a valiant little paper. We will send sample copies for three cents each.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY
2, 4 and 6 New Reade Street.

Take notice that, after May 1, THE PEOPLE'S address will be 2-6 New Reade street,—THE DAILY PEOPLE'S Building.

When going to that Section Festival of yours, be sure to have a supply of

ECKSTEIN BROS.' S. T. & L. A. CIGARS.

Eckstein Bros.,
86 and 88 Avenue B, New York.

AGENTS WANTED.

Address all communications to M. ECKSTEIN.

Trades' & Societies' Directory.

Standing advertisements of trades unions and oher societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of $5.00 per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meetings.

ALLEGHENY COUNTY, PA., MEETINGS at Headquarters, No 431 Smithfield street, Pittsburg, Pa. Free Lectures every Sunday, 3 p. m. Speakers' Club every Wednesday, 8 p. m. State Committee, every 1st and 3d Sunday, 9 a. m. Section Pittsburg, Central Committee, every 1st and 3d Sunday, 7.30 p. m. Pittsburg District Alliance, No. 15, S. T. & L. A., meets 2d Sunday of every month, 11 a. m. Machinists Local, No. 190, S. T. & L. A., meets every 2d and 4th Saturday, 8 p. m. Mixed Local, No. 191, meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, 8 p. m., at 14 Ley street, Allegheny, Pa. 13th Ward Branch of Allegheny, meets every 2d and4th Sunday, 3 p. m., at 14 Ley street, Allegheny, Pa.

DAILY PEOPLE CONFERENCE meets Sunday, 3 p.m., at 98 Avenue C, New York. Daily People stamps may be purchased by delegates from L. Abelson, Assistant Organizer, 98 Avenue C; E. Stiff, financial secretary, 362 Canal st., Julius Hammer, recording secretary, 304 Rivington street. 410

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY HEADQUARTERS of 34th and 35th A.D.'s, 481 Willis ave. Business meeting every Friday evening. Free reading room and pool parlor open day and evening. Free lectures every Sunday evening. Subscriptions for this paper taken. 449

SECTION AKRON, OHIO, S. L. P., meets every first and third Sunday, at 2 p. m., at Kramer's Hall, 167 S. Howard street. Organizer, J. Koplin, 307 Bartges street.

THE NEW JERSEY STATE COMMITTEE, S.L.P., meets 1st Sunday of month, 10 a. m., at headquarters, Essex Co. Socialist Club, 78 Springfield ave., Newark. Address communications to John Hossack, secretary 105 Princeton ave., Jersey City. 444

SECTION ESSEX COUNTY, S.L.P. The County Committee representing the section meets every Sunday, 10 a.m., in hall of Essex County Socialist Club, 78 Springfield avenue, Newark, N. J. 426

SECTION HARTFORD, S.L.P. Headquarters, 284 Asylum st. Room 10. City Committee meets 1st and 3d Tuesday, Br. 1 (German) 1st Monday; Br. 3 (American) 2d and 4th Monday of month, at 8 p. m. 456

SECTION BUFFALO, S.L.P., BRANCH 4, meets at International Hall, 251 E. Genesee st., near Michigan st., upst. Public lectures and discussion on questions pertaining to Socialism every Monday, 8 p. except 4th Monday of month, which is reserved for business meeting. Everybody welcome. Bring friends along. 461

SECTION LOS ANGELES, L.P. Headquarters and free reading room, 205½ So. Main st. Public meetings every Sunday, 8 p. m., Foresters' Temple, 129½ W. First street, corner Spring. 435

HARLEM SOCIALIST CLUB, headquarters of 32d and 33d A.D.'s, 169 E. 109th st. Business meeting every Tuesday. Free reading room open from 7.30 to 10.30 p. m. Subscription for this paper taken. 412

NEW YORK MACHINISTS' LOCAL 274 S. T. & L. A., meets every 2d and 4th Friday at 8 p. m., at E. 11th street. Secretary, K. Wa..erg. 408

NEW HAVEN, CONN., SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY meets every 2d and 4th Friday, 8 p.m., S.L.P. headquarters, 853 Grand av. Westville Br. meets every 3d Tuesday at St. Joseph's Hall Visitors welcome. 423

SCANDINAVIAN SE..ON, S.L.P., Br. 1, meets 2d and 4th Sunday of month at 10 month at 10 o'clock a. m., at 235 E. 38th tion orders taken for the Scand. Socialist weekly, *Arbetaren*. 429

SCANDINAVIAN SECTION, BRANCH 2, meets 1st and 3d Sunday of month, at 10 a.m., at Linnea Hall, 319 Atlantic avenue, Brooklyn. 453

PROGRESSIVE TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION L. A. 83, S. T. & L. A., meets every 1st Friday evening of month at 142 Delancey st. 460

WAITERS ALLIANCE "LIBERTY" No. 19, S. T. & L. A. Office 257 E. Houston st. Telephone call, 2321 Spring. Meets every Thursday, 3 p. m. 430

WEST HARLEM SOCIALIST CLUB, headquarters of the 23d Assembly District 312 W. 143d st. Business meeting, 2d and 4th Monday. Free reading room; open 8 to 10 p.m. Subscriptions for this paper taken. Visitors welcome

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General Committee meetings, 2d and 4th Saturday, 8 p. m., at Club Room, southwest corner 11th street and First avenue.

City Executive Committee meetings, 1st and 3d saturday 8 p. m., at 23 Duane street, Manhattan.

Office of Section New York, 98 Avenue C, Manhattan.

BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN.

ASSEMBLY DISTRICT MEETINGS.

1st, 3d and 5th—2d and 4th Monday, 8 p. m., at 261 Hudson street.
2d—Every Monday, 8 p. m., at Club rooms, 235 East Broadway.
4th—2d and 4th Friday, 8 p. m., Assembly Rooms, 177 East Broadway.
6th and Tenth—2d and 4th Wednesday, 8 p. m., at Club Rooms, southwest corner of 11th street and First avenue.
8th—1st and 3d Wednesday, 8 p. m., Club Rooms, 75 Ludlow street.
9th—1st and 3d Monday, 8 p. m., 346 Ninth avenue.
12th—Every Friday, 8 p. m., Club Rooms, 184 Delancey street.
13th—1st and 3d Friday, 8 p. m., Club Rooms, 441 West 39th street.
14th—Every Tuesday, 8 p. m., Club Rooms, southwest corner of 11th street and First avenue.
15th and 17th—1st and 3d Friday, 8 p. m., Club Rooms, 441 West 39th street.
16th—Every Tuesday, 8 p. m., Club Rooms, 98 Avenue C.
18th—2d and 4th Thursday, 8 p. m., Club Rooms, 281 Avenue B.
19th and 21st—1st and 3d Monday 8 p. m., 2310 Broadway.
20th—1st and 3d Thursday, residence of M. Berz, 211 East 28th street.
23d—2d and 4th Monday, 8 p. m., Club Rooms, 31 West 13d street.
25th—1st and 3d Friday, 8 p. m., at 146 Fifth avenue
26th—1st and 3d Thursday, 8 p. m., Club Rooms, 414 East 71st street.
27th—1st and 3d Tuesday, 8 p. m., 738 Seventh avenue.
28th—2d and 4th Wednesday, Club Rooms, 242 East 80th street.
30th—2d and 4th Wednesday, 8 p. m., Club Rooms, 1706 First avenue.
32d and 35d—Every Thursday, 8 p. m., Club Rooms, 169 East 109th street.
34th and 35th—Every Friday, 8 p. m., Club Rooms, 481 Willis avenue.
Branch 8 (Bohemian)—1st and 3d Wednesday, 8 p. m., Club Room, 414 East 71st street.
Italian Branch—Last Sunday in month, 8 p. m., 335 East 106th street.
Slavonian Branch—Every Sunday, 8 p. m., 539 West 59th street.

BOROUGH OF BROOKLYN.

2d—Every Thursday, 8 p. m., at Hall, Prospect and Jay streets.
4th—1st and 3d Wednesday, 8 p. m., 253 Greene avenue.
5th—2d and 4th Thursday, 8 p. m., 83 Bartlett street.
6th—Every Monday, 8 p. m., at 43 Ellery street.
7th—1st and 3d Thursday, 8 p. m., 1265 Third avenue.
10th—Every Sunday, 8 p. m., Wurzler's Hall, 315 Washington street.
12th—2d and 4th Sunday, 10 a. m., 427 12th street.
13th and 14th—1st and 3d Wednesday, 8 p. m., 535 Graham avenue.
15th—1st and 3d Saturday, 8 p. m., corner Manhattan avenue and Broadway.
16th, 17th and 18th—2d and 4th Thursdays, 8 p. m., at 1766 Fulton street.
17th—2d and 4th Friday, 8 p. m., at 414 Quincy street.
19th—Every Sunday, 10 a. m., at 192 Evergreen avenue.
20th—First and 3d Wednesday, 8 p. m., Club Rooms, 244 Bleeker street, corner Knickerbocker avenue.
21st District, Branch 1—2d and 4th Friday, 8 p. m., at Schellein's Hall, corner Vermont and Atlantic avenues.
21st District, Branch 2—Every Friday, 8 p. m., Washington Hall, 93 Thatford avenue.
7th District (Polish)—1st Wednesday in month, Kowalski's Hall, 657½ Third avenue

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